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.....A. A. Young.....
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Briggs, William Dimmore

For Studies I see
Anglia xxxvii. 463

from W.D.B.

A. C. Gifford

~~1736~~
~~6588~~

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STUDIES IN BEN JONSON.

II.

The 4to and the 12mo of 1640.

In presenting to those interested in the text of Jonson a statement of the contents and variant readings of the 4to and the 12mo of 1640, I have followed the same plan as in dealing with *MS. Harl.* 4955. In other words, I have compared the text with that of the three-volume edition of Gifford and Cunningham. No doubt a direct comparison with the Folio might have been in some respects preferable, but it would have been open to the disadvantage that only those who have access to a copy of that work could make use of it. Such fortunate persons, however, can of course by conferring the Folio with Gifford easily arrive at the divergences between it and the two volumes in question, while everyone can make at least some use of the variant readings as here presented. Naturally, as my ultimate object is to test the reliability of the Folio text of the poems, I shall give the Folio readings whenever dealing with a passage in which Gifford and the Folio are at odds. Perhaps attention should be called to the fact that Cunningham occasionally corrected misprints and textual blunders in Gifford without notice (except as they are alluded to in the notes to the large nine-volume edition of 1875), and so it is emphatically this slightly revised text in the three-volume edition and not the original Gifford text of 1816 with which we are concerned.

John Benson, Jonson's 'lewd printer' of 1631, put out in 1640 two small volumes, a 4to and a 12mo, containing mis-

cellaneous poems of Jonson. The 4to was first published, as we shall see, but for reasons that will appear it will be simpler to take up the 12mo first. It bears the following imprimatur: "Imprimatur: Mat. Clay. And by other Authority. Febr. 21. 1639."

The contents and the variants follow. I give all variants, with the exceptions enumerated in my first article. Misprints are given for two reasons, — first, because a misprint sometimes results in astonishingly good sense, and so becomes a true variant; secondly, because these blunders may often be of great value in determining the relationship of different versions.

The title-page of the 12mo runs: Q. Horatius | Flaccus: | His Art of Poetry. | Englished By | Ben: Jonson. | With other Workes of the | Author, never Printed | before. | London: | Printed by J. Okes, for John | Benson. 1640.

Dedication. "To the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Windsore.

"My Lord: The Extension of your Noble Favours Commands, and my Gratitude no lesse binds me to present this Elaborate Peece, of our learned and judicious Poet Ben Jonson his Translation of Horace de Arte Poetica, to your Lordships perusall: which Book amongst the rest of his Strenuous and Sinewy Labours, for its rare profundity, may challenge a just admiration of the Learned in this and future Ages, and crowne his name with a lasting memory of never dying glory! You rightly knew (my Lord) the worth and true esteeme both of the Author and his Learning, being more perspicuous in the candid judgement of Your Lordship, and other sublime Spirits that rightly knew him, then my capacity can describe. But there is from me a just duty and service due to your Honour, which makes me assume this boldnesse, yet in some good assurance that your Goodnesse will be pleas'd to accept of this as a true acknowledgment, and profession of my most humble thankfulness, by which my Lord you shall dignifie the purpose of him who shall always study to be accounted

"Your Honours most observant and affectionate servant.

J[ohn] B[enson].

There then follow various sets of commendatory verses:

"Sir Edward Herbert Knight of the Bath, Ordinary Embassadour for His Majesty of Great Brittain with the French King. Upon his Friend Mr. Ben: Jonson, and his Translation." See G., I, cix.

"Barton Holyday, to Ben Jonson. Epode." Part of this printed *ibidem*.

"To Mr. Jonson." By Zouch Tounley. *Ibidem*.

"Ode. To Ben Jonson Upon his Ode to himselfe." By J. C[leveland]. See G., II, 389.

Pp. 1 ff. "Quintus Horatius Flaccus his Book of the Art of Poetry to the Piso's." *The Latin is omitted.* 2 A horse neck joyn, & sundry plumes ore-fold 5 some swarthy] a blacke foule 8 That Book, my Piso's, and this piece agree 9 feigned] form'd 10 foot 12 all] ought 14 wild and tame] cruell things 15 Together] To gentle 18 You . . . out-shine 19 scarlet] purple . . . or] either 20—21 and Altar, with the nether | Bouts of fleet waters, that doe intertwine 25 only well] well alone 28 wrack'd 31 In short, I bid] Heare me conclude 32 wholly] alwayes 33—40 The greater part, that boast the Muses fire | Father, and sons right worthy of your Sire, | Are with the likenesse of the truth beguil'd: | My selfe for shortnesse labour, and am stil'd | Obscure. Another striving smooth to runne, | Wants strength, and sinewes, as his spirits were done; | His Muse professing height, and greatnesse, swells; | Downe close by shore, this other creeping steales, | Being over-safe, and fearing of the flaw: | So he that varying still affects to draw 42 amidst 43—4 The shunning vice, to greater vice doth lead | If in th'escape an artlesse path we tread 46 fashion] figure 47 curled] gentle 48 But] Yet 50 form] frame 51—2 To be that fellow, then to be markt out | With faire blacke eyes, and hair, and some vile snout 53 still, matter] a subject 54 examine] be turning 55—7 Prove what your shoulders will, or will not beare, | His choise, who's matter to his power doth reare 58 e'er forsakes] will forsake 59—62 The vertue and grace of which, or I mistake, | Is now to speak, and even now to differ | Much that mought now be spoke, omitted here 67 common] vulgar 71 well-trussed] girded 75 fall] full 76 came 87 state] Fate 99

state] Fate 103—4 please, with whom both choyse, and will |
 Power, art, and rule 105 gests] deeds 116 wine's] winds
 117 The 119—20 a verse ... in] and quell the rings | Of
 popular noyses, borne to actuate things 121—5 *places these*
after line 131 121 The] Yet ... will not] shunnes to 125
 thews] praise 126 If now the changes, and the severall hues
 131 either] yet to 132 doth] both ... excite] doth raise
 136 they] he 137 their] his 138 they are] he is 139 Their]
 His 140 th'elaborate] the labouring 142 their] the 143
 faces still] count'nances 146 loss] harms 147 thou 153 state
 of fortune] Fortunes habit 155 sorrow] woes she 160 jeering
 ... out] will with laughter shout 161 differ if] sway whether
 165 farmer] husband 174 sword let] bold sword 175—7
 Medea make wild, fierce, impetuous: | Ino bewaild; Ixion
 trecherous | Io still wandring; griev'd Orestes sad 178 strange]
 fresh 179 scene] Stage 197 such great gaping 199 scorned]
 trifling 209 wars 216 with] and 222 the 225 rights] dues
 229 The *and om.* once 231 th 238 friendships 251 As] At
 258 the] that 264 or 265 the 275 aspire] desire 277 Must
 manly keep, and not be 279 agrees 284 The open ports,
 and sports that peace doth cause 285 and pray to th'
 296 That] The 304 swooping] wandring 305—6 thus grew |
 To the grave Harp, and Violl] voyces new 311—8 *places*
these after line 404 318 grave] great ... stalk] walk 329
 prating 330 all] our 331 were] be 333 purple] Scarlet
 335 at] the 347 wiped] cleans'd 349 gear] stuffe 355 their]
 the 357 street-born] Town-born ... hall] place 358 Their
 youthful] Or play young 359 bawdy] shamefull ... and] or
 361 Will take] Take just 362 buyes Pulse there, or perhaps
 may like 364 an applause] any Crowne 365—70 *places after*
line 318; see on 311 above 368 licence] force was 377 do]
 to 397 Greeks 399 Our] Your ... did] old ... prais'd 400
 rais'd 402 know any way 408 our] their 423—4 but seek
 by-paths | In secret places, flee the 426 Poets, if they can
 come forth 428 The head that 430 who] none 432 the]
 their ... I had 436 fit 439 whether truth will, and whether
 442 writing 444 will never follow 'gainst 460 Of empty
 Verses, and meere tinckling toyes 461 not] that 464 the
 subtle] more thriving 479—502 *places these after line 580*
 480 at odds] in woods 485 with his soft songs, where he

would 489 raging] ranging 499 the rest 501—2 Lest of
 the singer Apollo, and Muses fam'd | Upon the Lyre, thou
 chance to be 507 pleasure 517 the Sosii] thee Socii 526 the]
 a 532 on] in 536 Angry, if once I 537 But] Though
 544 with] will 549 does] doth 552 powers 553 Cassellius
 555 not Pillars 559 As ... honey] Poppy, with hony of
 Sardus 560 free] glad 562 bettering 564 it sinketh 566
 His] The 569 Throg'd rings should a free laughter 571 I'm
 gentle] being honest ... do] doth 572 am] is 578 kept by:
 your papers in, y'are 580 writ] word 586 one] their 591
 since] now 594 Scab 597 To] Once 599 who] that 600
 great] wealthy 601 flatterers] praisers 604 and] or 608
 y'are 612 shower] dew 613 ground 614 sound 617 Rich]
 Great 619 he] to 620 write] make 621 not] no 622 con-
 ceals] harbours 623 Quinctilius 624 good] my 626 thrice
 assay'd it, but in 628 Those 630 or] nor 632 by his will]
 at your will 633 A good and wise man ... out] open 637
 this] 'hem 638 Reprove] Dispute 640 my] a 643 Those
 that are wise, a furious 644 shun] flye 646 furious] truly
 647 Under the angry Moon 648 and carelesse follow him
 with noise 649 This, while 667 for if] if yet 668 Now,
 bring him backe, he'le 669 so] his 670 Here's one makes
 verses, but there's none 671 h hath pissed 673 Defiled] Pol-
 luted ... certainly he's 678 reciting] with reading 679 his
 hold] the skin 680 Till, horse-leech like, he drop off

Pp. 29 ff. *Separate title-page*: Ben: Jonson's | Execration |
 Against | Vulcan. | London: | Printed by J. Okes, for | J. Benson,
 and are to bee | sold at his shop in St. Dun- | stans Church-
 yard in Fleet- | street. 1640. *Title* Ben: Jonson's Execration
 against Vulcan 1 Lord] god 2 had] have 3 flames 4 an]
 one 5 Vulcan 'gainst] ought against 14 the] her 16 Im-
 postures 23 honour 24 glory ... or 30 Th' 36 Ecrosticks
 ... those] your 39 on] or 42 a Lay 48 wouldst] wilt 50
 thirst 53 Sing'd 54 me] them 57 a] the ... right doth
 58 make] sow ... every 60 T'have 65 Talmond ... Alcaron
 67 the] their 68 their enchanted 71 To] With 73 seals]
 Charmes 74 Jems 76 by] be 79 Or] Our 82 Baal 85
 excite 88 mystery 89 All] And 97 To] For 98 fift 99 In
 which ... besides 100 Cotton, Carew sent 102 with]

And 105 dost thou 108 of] at 110 Art 113 lookst 121
 with] by 122 the ... with] by 123 Banks-side 124 My]
 Our 126 of] on 129 these 134 Flanked] Fenc'd 140 re-
 lique 142 th' 145 th' 146 And ... was] 'Twas verily 148
 Venus'] 'twas the 152 wives 157 his] thy 158 too shew'd
 159 is] was 160 his] thy 165 those] them 169 th' have
 171 all chronicles] our Chroniclers 181 forth] out 183 Con-
 fine him to some Brickhills 188 Burn] Waste 189 were]
 more 193 was unto] had bin to 195 and] which 196 yet,]
 remains 199 the] a ... Bilbo 200 Struck 201 Or] And
 202 Who] That 206 Make] Use 207 murther 216 wives
 poxe take thee

Pp. 41 ff. *Separate title-page*: The Masque | of the |
 Gypsies. | Written by Ben: Jonson. | London: | Printed by J.
 Okes, for | J. Benson, and are to bee | sold at his shop in
 St. Dun- | stons Church-yard in Fleet- | street. 1640. *Title*
 The Masque of the Gypsies. *The Speech, etc., simply* At the
 Kings Entrance 7 affects 10 *om.* to *Prol. is omitted entirely.*

Masque proper. s. d. om. being the Jackman *om.* followed
 by *add* The first leading Gypsy speaks, being the Jackman
 3 Ammon 8 strook 12 *om.* her 13 *om.* great 14 the same
 time 15 of each other 15—6 at the last 27 lookes he
 28 Quinguiniver 30—1 what's 34 *om.* hard 36 and] or
 40 their] the 45 out] forth 51 'hem 55 did ever 58 here
 we 59 it is 62 doe doubt 67 † *om.* *Music as always. s. d.*
 Dance 1. The Captaine danceth forth with sixe more to a
 stand. After which the Jackman Sings. Song. 1. 71 th' 77
 and] or 91 † *om.* Enter the 96 bound 104 amongst 105
 Yee 114 *om.* their 134—5 Faces and Palmistry, | And this
 is all mystery 162 o' 164 'hem 170—71 *reverse order of*
these two lines. 180 draughts] drops 181 there] thee 184
 long] strict 196 th' 202 † Dance 2. Song 2. 203 *om.* Pat.
 212 † Captaine goes up to the King *om.* surveying the com-
 pany 219 lucks ... line] time 222 the body ... the blood
 223 You are ... Territorie 224 but were 225 the Prince
 231 quality 235 what's 240 † *om.* withdraws 241 *om.* Pat.
 245 soul] foule 250 † After which the Kings fortune is
 pursued by the Captaine 251 *om.* Capt ... King. 270 unto
 273 Forrune 286 † Here they Dance] Dance 3. 2 Straine

293 states] Starres 332—4 *om. these three lines* 334 † Here they Dance] 2 Dance. Straine 3. 358 he's 363 never 369 Dare 382 † 2 Dance. Strain 4. 408 and will 408 † Dance 2. Straine 5. 427 see] he 436 hand 442 robbed] told 456 not] no 459 given 464 † Chamberlaine 481 † Dance 2. Straine 3. 486 that] the 498 you will 503 not for] for no 505 Errant 511 th' 525 they] the 535 T' 538 i' 542 Master's 545 Thus written to Franke 548 † *om. the (bis)* 549 *om. sir* 562 *insert the lines given by G. in note (intendments); place s. d. after line* 588 575 H's 580 i' 582 i' 583 *om. but* 587 Both *is placed at beginning of next line* 588 † 2 Dance. 6 Straine, which leads into Dance 3. During which, enter the Clownes, Cockrell, Clod, Townshed, to them Puppy 608 o' ... o' 615 *this speech assigned to Clod* 621 They can ... or] and 625 their] the 630 *om. and ... wenches* 634 *after tabor insert: he could have mustred up the smocks o'th two shires; and set the Codpieces and they by the eares, I wusse, here's my two-pence towards it: 635 gather't 638 he will 641—663 for these twenty-three lines substitute: Clod. That's all one, I have a wife, and a child in reversion, you know it well enough, & I cannot fat Pidgeons with Cherry-stones: Ile venture my penny with you. Cock. Well, theres my two-pence; Ile bee jovy: my name's Cockrell, and I am true bred. Town. Come, there's my groat, never stand drawing Indentures for the matter; we'll make a Bolt, or a Shaft on't now. Clod. Let me see, here's nine-pence in the whole. Pup. Why there's a whole nine-pence for it: put it all in a piece for memory, and strike up for mirth sake. Town. Doe, and they'll presently come about us for lucke sake. But look to our pockets and purses for our own sake. Clod. That's warning for me, I have the greatest charge I am sure. 663 † substitute: Pipers. A Country Dance. During which the Gypsies come about them prying: and after the Patrico 666 *om. this line* 669 Ptolemy 671 But] And 678 Peg] Meg 686 Rime 687 t'one 693 i'th time o'th' 695 stalks] maunds 700 her] it 703 who stands] who's 705—6 *substitute reading given in G.'s note* 708 he must be 710 of 717 *this is given to A. Gypsie; place will before goe* 718 and pare 719 H' has right nail] Hobnaile 727 *insert Meg's fortune: Patrico. She'll have a Tailer take measure of her britch, | And ever**

after be troubled with a stitch. Town. That's as homely as she. Pup. The better: a Turd's as good for a Sow as a Pancake. Town. Harke, now they treat upon Ticklefoot. 730 *assign to 4 Gypsie* 732 *om. a read* notwithstanding for non upstante 734 *this is a continuation of the preceding speech by Puppy* 735 ha you 740 a Turke Gypsie 741 *om. a* 743 o' th' 744 name is 746 *assign to 2 Gypsie* 751 I am 753 ha' 754 at] with 754 † *om. s. d.* 755 *om. Pat.* 765 † *om. s. d.* 768 yee 769 methinks ... 'hem 773 *place* for me at end of next line 775 *om. man* 776 *om. have* 778 ha' ... ha' 779 ha' 781 of an 789 word .. ha' after too add and more in it that Ile speak of, but e're I'de crye for't as thou dost — Much good doe 'hem with all my heart, I doe reverence 'hem for 't. 790 i' and *om.* Thou ... whimpering 795 *om. a* 804 *om. money* 806—8 *substitute:* Cock. Why they have rob'd Prudence of a Race*... she ... a holy-dayes 811—816 *substitute:* Cock. And Maudlin has lost an enchanted Nutmeg, all guilded over, she had to put in her Sweet-hearts Ale a mornings with a row of pins, which pricks the poore soule to the heart, the losse of 'hem. 817—828 *substitute:* Clod. And I have lost (beside my purse) my best Bridelace, and a halpworth of Hobnails, and Francis her thimble, with a skeane of Coventry blew she had to work Will: Litchfields Handkerchiffe. Cock. And Christian her Practice of Piety, with a bow'd Groat, and the Ballad of whoop Barnabee, which grieves her worst of all 831 in it 834 my fine] a pair of 835 lost never] left ne're 836 Puppy gone 838 ha 839 you're 839 † *om. s. d.* 857 yee 860 o' 863 you 878 *om. is* 884 Ballet 885 *om. the read* ye 895 We'd 897 thiefe's 906 ne're 908 *om. and* 911 has his] hath a 912 *om. and other minstrels* 913 or order 915 feakian 917 Ninglington 937 *om. this line* 940—2 *om. these three lines* 947 those 948 fart 954 (for comming there Coacht) 955 made] caus'd 967 *om. and* 982 was a 989 to have choakt 999 trussed] thrust 1001 o're 1002 for fish 1013 *insert lines given in G.'s note.* 1019 *om. now* 1031 *om. at* 1036 I] in 1043 purse] pocket 1046 telling Fortunes, or picking pockets 1047 and they would bee pleased 1048 'hem ... poor mortall country folkes 1057 You 1060 yee 1061 *om. a read* o' 1075 or] and 1089 a Licence 1100 *om. to* 1102 Have

1108 and] for 1112 *om.* a 1129 'hem 1131 fleshy 1132
 Pup.] Clod 1133 Clod] Pup. 1137 were] are 1145 th' 1152
 With] And 1155 'hem 1157 tell you 1159 *om.* As *read* you
 1160 With his Beare and his Biefe 1170 *insert lines given*
in G.'s note 1171 Omnes] All 1171 † *substitute*: The Gypsies
 changed. Dance. 1192 art] heart 1218 ha' 1219 *om.* Cho.
as always 1220 *om.* Pat. *as in* 1234, 1245, 1253, 1263 1243
om. From *and* stale 1260 Ithe 1268 burthen 1271 *om.* Jack.
as in 1284, 1290, 1304, 1322 1320 *om.* Gip. *Epilogue om.*
 At Windsor 16 *om.* a

Pp. 105 ff. *Here there is a mistake in the pagination, as the masque ends on p. 104 and the first of the following poems is on p. 95. Separate title-page: Epigrams | To | Severall Noble | Personages in this | Kingdome. | The Author Ben: Jonson. | London: | Printed by J. Okes, for | J. Benson, and are to bee | sold at his shop in St. Dun- | stons Church-yard in Fleet- | street. 1640.*

P. 95. "Upon King Charles his Birth-day." *Und.* no. 91.
 1 his birth day ... thou] the 3 Discharging 'bout 8 from
 another 12 Made loftier by the winds all noyses els 13 At
 Bone-fires, squibs, and mirth, with all their shouts 14 the
 gladnesse 15 If they had leasure, at these lawfull routs
 16 *om.* On 17 And then noyse forth the burthen of their
 song 19—20 *om. these two lines.*

P. 97. "To the Queen on her Birth-day." *Und.* no. 85.
Om. the numbering of the stanzas and the names of the Muses.
 2 The 7 thrifty] thirsty 9 forth] out 11 or] as 13 our]
 the 14 cleave] shake 15 our] their 29 brother's] fathers
 30 father's] brothers 33 isle] ground 39 his] the 48 Her
 one and twenty 49—54 *om. this stanza*

P. 99. "An Epigram to the Queens Health." *Und.* no. 84.
 2 blessed 3 and why not I 8 mankind] the world 13 Glory]
 Our thanks 14 Of so much health, both to our Land and
 King

P. 100. On the Princes Birth-day. An Epigram." *Und.*
 no. 83. 2 and] on

P. 101. "Another on the Birth of the Prince." *See G.'s*
note on the preceding. I give the portion that he omits.

16 somewhat 17 the] her 18 th' 21 serve not titles, fame
 25 aime at, the Dotes thereof were 26 *om.* Thereof *read*
 Nation 29 heaven] God 31 those 33 did by a great 35
 that] it 38 rob] spoyle 44 dazzling] darling 46 sum] heap
 54 to burne 56 all] with my 59 With] Which 65 Who]
 That 69 lights 70 secrets 71 discourses 74 beginning
 75 doth 76 they ... crown] the Elect of God 78 yee 79
 grudge at] quarrell 80 To 88 And] The 90 with] and
 91 beginning to have 92 should] can 95 brave contention
 and strife 96 to enjoy a

Pp. 108 ff. "Ode Pindarick. To the Noble Sir Lucius Cary." *Und.* no. 88. The turne of ten 10 † The Counter-
 turne of ten 17 *om.* and *read* full fury 19 lives 20 † The
 Stand, of twelve 32 † The second turne of ten (*and the other
 stanzas similarly marked. The classical names in G. are all
 omitted.*) 41 So] Too 44 fall'st] tripst 45 right] night 50
 and measure 53 our] out 63 sillib' 71 that] at 73 beauty
 81 that] the 90 was 100 indentur'd

P. 115. "To Hierom Lord Weston, upon his returne from
 his Embassie." *Und.* No. 93. 6 and spring 7 The] That
 15 were 16 Have shew'd 23 fruit shall] fruits that 25 then
 our] the 28 Shoot] Spring 29 of the aire 30 his] the

P. 117. "To the Right Honourable the Lord Treasurer.
 An Epigram." *Und.* no. 96. 2 you with some curious 4 with]
 from 6 what Romans famous Tintaret 12 the] his 15 Statue
 16 they] these 19 Of froward Citizens; make Nations 20
 world 22 Of fame and honour you possesse 23 looke I
 reverent] measuring 25 like as 26 or] and 27 tune] voyce

P. 118. "To Mr. Jonson upon these Verses." *Printed
 from another version in G.'s note upon the preceding.* 1 are]
 were .. and] as 3 Ben I have beene told 4 The seld seen
 summe 5 The] These *The initials I. E. are appended.*

P. 119. "To my Detractor." *In same note.* 1 Didst
 15 flye

P. 120. "To William Earle of New-Castle on the backing
 of his Horse." *Und.* no. 72. 11 Nay] And

P. 121. "To William Earle of New-Castle. An Epigram
 on his Fencing." *Und.* no. 89. 3 mastring 7 such] this 8 i'

9 A swift and darling motion 10 Of men doe meet 14 The] a
16 Next to despise, it 17 the] all 19 All] And 20 all] and
21—23 *om.* 'mongst ... fortune *read* Who durst live great,
when death appear'd

P. 122. "To Sir Kenelme Digby. An Epigram." *Und.*
no. 97. 2 read] take 3 Honours 4 could] would 6 virtue]
action 8 that] those 12 dwell 13—8 *substitute*: Witsnesse
his birth-day, the eleventh of June, | And his great action
done at Scanderoone. | That day, which I predestin'd am to
sing, | For Brittain's honour, and to Charles my King: 21 cheare
22 omen] fortune 27 shall] doth 29 shall] will 30 begged]
made 31 them] then

P. 124. "His Mistresse Drawne." *Und.*, *Eupheme*, no. 3.
3 Fringe and 4 Where] When 6 or] and 12 by my fancy
with his hand 20 yet] it 22 can] may 24 confin'd in 25
circle 29 you

P. 126. "Her Minde." *Und.*, *Eupheme*, no. 4. 1 y'are
7 Besides 8 a] the 11 The] A ... or] a 13 this] a 36
spake 46 sunk] stucke 54 lofty] softly 55 round and] and
so 64 Odours, Spice, and Gummes

P. 130. "Sir William Burlase The Painter to the Poet."
See lines printed in note to Und. no. 71. 4 skill] art 7 or]
and 8 whereas

P. 131. "Ben: Jonson The Poet to the Painter." *Und.*
no. 71. 5 lump] part 12 y'had 13 whilst] since 16 mastery]
Majesty 20 but] than 22 Yet] But 24 will] would

P. 132. "Upon my Picture left in Scotland." *Und.* no. 7.
9 youngest] wisest 11—12 *printed as one line* 13 Tells 16
could not

P. 133. "On a Gentlewoman working by an Houre-Glasse."
Und. no. 6. *The 12mo version is printed in G.'s note.*

P. 134. "To the Ladies of the Court. An Ode." *Same*
as the song in Neptune's Triumph, bottom of col. 2, p. 182. No
singers are given. 3 the] us 6 parts] arts 12 on the shore]
long before 14 green 18 Whereof

P. 135. "Ode To himselfe." *Printed by G. after The New*
Inn, II, 385. 11 *om.* thou 12 will] would 21 some] a

27—8 Brooms sweepings doe as well | There, as his Masters
meale 31 ye 33 stage-clothes] scoene cloathes 36 larding]
stuffing 37 With rage of Comick socks 39 they're . . . turned]
foule 42 th' 53 o'er] of 54 may be 56 That no tun'd
Harpe like ours 58 Shall truely hit the stars 59—60 When
they shall read the Acts of Charles his reigne, | And see his
Chariot triumph 'bove his waine

P. 138. "A Sonnet." *Same as Karolin's song, Sad Shepherd, I, v.* 6 as] and 10 or] and 13 band 14 May] Will

Turning now to the 4to, we shall find that it can be more briefly dealt with. It was the earlier issue. for it bears the imprimatur: "Imprimatur Matth. Clay. Decemb. 14. 1639." The title-page runs: Ben: Jonson's Exe- | cration against | Vulcan. | With divers Epigrams by | the same Author to severall | Noble Personages in | this Kingdome. | Never Published before. | London: | Printed by J. O. for John Benson, and | are to be sold at his shop at St. Dunstans | Church-yard in Fleet-streete. 1640. The volume is unpagged, and an important feature is that to every poem are appended the initials or the name of Jonson, even in the case of the two doubtful poems that we shall have later to consider.

The 4to does not contain the translation of Horace or the *Masque of Gipsies*, and it likewise omits all of the complimentary poems except the one by Tounley, which is found at the end of the book instead of the beginning. Otherwise its contents are precisely the same as those of the 12mo, and their order is the same with certain exceptions to which I shall again call attention. There are a good many differences in spelling, punctuation, and the use of capitals, and the 12mo further corrects a few of the misprints, besides introducing some on its own account. With the following exceptions and those above noted, the two volumes may be considered as identical for textual purposes.

Dedication. This is also to Lord Windsor, but in different terms.

"To the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Windsor, &c.

"My Lord:

"The assurance the Author of these Poems received of his Worth from your Honour, in his life time, was not rather

a marke of his desert, than a perfect demonstration of your Noble love to him: Which consideration, has rais'd my bold desire to assume presumption, to present these to your Honour, in the person of one deceased; the forme whereof somewhat disperst, yet carry with them the Prerogative of truth to be Mr. Ben: Jonsons; and will so appeare to all, whose Eyes, and Spirits are rightly plac'd. You are (my Lord) a Person who is able to give value and true esteeme to things of themselves no lesse deserving: such were his, strong, and as farre transcendent ordinary imagination, as they are conformable to the sence of such who are of sound judgement: his Strenuous Lines, and sinewey Labours have rais'd such Piramydes to his lasting name, as shall out-last Time. And that these may, without any diminution to the glory of his greater Workes, enjoy the possession of publicke favour, (by your Honours permission) I shall be glad by this small Testimony account it a fit opportunity to assure your Honour, my Lord, that I am

Your most humble and affectionate Servant,

John Benson."

Execration against Vulcan. 6 least] lesse 8 close 48 wouldst] will 69 Tristrams 76 by 79 Or] On 84 meal] meate 115 who] when 134 forced] forkt 138 covet 139 nois'd 142 the *and om.* in 164 houses] horses 194 at] not 201 Or *and om.* but 206 Petarres

An Epigram to the Queens Health, 3 why may not I

An Elegy on the Lady Jane; etc. 33 by great

Ode Pindarick, etc. *Title Ode Pindarick On the the Death of Sir Hen. Morison The headings of the stanzas are simply The Counter-turne, The Stand, The Turne, etc., the first heading being om.* 100 to 104 Orgies] Argues 109 likening ... one to th' other

To Hierom Lord Weston, etc. 18 stromaticke

To the Right Honourable, etc. 6 *4to gives this line correctly* 23 I looke

To William Earle of New-Castle. An Epigram on his Fencing. 8 i' th'

Her Minde. 11 Sandlesse 12 But] And 13 this 15
 Since that nothing 27 trier] tire 33 will] would 56 moulded
 out of Heaven 61 in] and 72 thy] a 4to does not divide
 into stanzas.

Ben: Jonson, etc. 11 discrib'd

At the end is a list of errata, which I do not print as all of the mistakes are contained in the foregoing list.

There is more to be said regarding the 4to. The catchword at the bottom of the page containing the poem of Sir William Burlase is 'Ben:.'; the next page, however, contains *An Epigram to the Queens Health*; two leaves on is *Ben: Jonson The Poet, to the Painter*. At the same time, Burlase's poem is on sig. F₁ verso; Jonson's reply is on the first page of sig. G; and the 4to is paged in fours. The intervening two leaves have sig. f; f₂ verso has the catchword 'Ben:.', corresponding to Jonson's poem, sig. G₁. It is then clear that these two leaves were printed for the purpose of being inserted at that point, which is indeed the only place where they could be inserted, as no where else does a poem end at the bottom of a page. These two inserted poems occur in the 12mo on pp. 99, 135 respectively.

The importance of the point lies in the light it throws upon the way in which the material for these two books was got together, and the consequent inference we are entitled to draw as to the authority of the texts contained in them. We might naturally have thought that since Benson was Jonson's publisher in 1631 he might have had possession of some of Jonson's papers, or at any rate have been in an especially favorable position to secure them. It now becomes evident that such was not at all the case. Benson obviously had for some time been collecting such copies of Jonson's poems as he could get hold of, no very difficult task in view of the numerous MSS. afloat. By the latter part of 1639 he had a sufficient number to justify the publication of a small volume, Perhaps he had heard of the forth-coming Folio and wished to forestall it. In any case, while the volume was in the press he obtained copies of two more poems, which he inserted as best he could. Then in the next few weeks he procured the translation of Horace, the *Masque of Gipsies*, and a few

commendatory pieces. He felt that he had enough new material for another issue. In that issue he changed the order somewhat, grouping the commendatory poems at the beginning, placing the *Epigram to the Queens Health* among the other poems to the royal family, and transferring the *Ode to himselfe* to the end of the book, thus restoring the connection between Burlase's poem and Jonson's answer. On these grounds alone we should be justified in denying to the 12mo the high rank Whalley and Gifford tacitly assumed for it when they adopted unnecessarily so many of its readings.

There is, however, other evidence at hand. First let us take up the translation of Horace. Jonson had executed this at least as early as 1605, for in the preface to *Sejanus* he speaks of his intention shortly to publish it. Gifford says that numerous transcripts of the translation got abroad (I do not know his authority for this assertion), but that only three have come down to us. The three, which he does not enumerate, are the 12mo, the Folio, and the version in *The Poems of Horace ... Rendred in English Verse by Several Persons ...* 1666. This last we may neglect, for it is substantially the Folio text. I throw together in a note its variations from Gifford, but shall not again refer to it.¹⁾

Now the most striking difference between F and the 12mo is of course to be found in the four cases of transposition noted above under lines 121, 311, 365, and 479. In all of these cases, it will be found that the 12mo agrees with the ordinary arrangement of the Latin text, whereas F varies

¹⁾ 10 foot 32 simply 36 flow] slow 39 too safe, too afraid 69 utt'ring 115 conqu'ring 131 kuows 134 of 142 mind 185 thy 186 publishing 188 the] he 222 the 279 not 281 bed 288 the] his 306 to] of 480 that] and 544 with] will 553 Casselius 562 bettering 595 that is] at the 628 Those. The reader will notice that some of these variants are misprints, that few of them are of any intrinsic interest, that they agree with the 12mo only in lines 10, 222, 544, 553, 562, and 628, and that in all of these six instances, except 562, they agree with the Folio. (We must not forget that Gifford experienced no compunction in silently altering his text when he felt inclined, though a number of his changes here and elsewhere are undoubtedly due to carelessness.) In other words, the version of 1666 is as far as we are concerned the same as the Folio.

from that arrangement. Gifford seems to have assumed quite calmly that the problem as to which of these versions was the later was insoluble, but Gifford, especially as he neared the completion of his great task, was only too willing to adopt any hypothesis that would save him the labour of strict investigation, and he shirked the problem of this text in a more than usually open fashion. Without going to the trouble of setting up men of straw in the shape of possible explanations only to bowl them over, we may note simply that the order of ideas in the Folio text is that of Heinsius in his edition of Horace in 1610. (I have seen only the edition of 1612, but I assume that his innovations were introduced in his first edition.) The Folio arrangement then must be at least as late as 1610, and we may legitimately infer that the 12mo gives us the earlier version of the translation. This does not mean that Jonson adopted the text of Heinsius in all of its details, for he does not seem to have done so, but simply that he accepted the changes made by the Dutch scholar in the order of ideas.

Space forbids a detailed discussion of the other variants in the text of this translation, but I may be permitted to summarize the conclusions that have commended themselves to me. These differences are in part due to the adoption of different readings, as in 399, where, though the usual reading is 'nostri', some texts have 'vestri'. In other cases they are due to accidents of the press, e. g., 75, where 'fall' translates the Latin, but 'full' makes good sense if we take 'spring' as a verb. Such diversities as singulars for plurals, 'or' for 'and', 'that' for 'the', 'on' for 'in', 'who' for 'that', 'their' for 'the', and often doubtless more important differences are quite as likely to have had their source in careless printing or transcribing as in Jonson's revision. A few changes, as for example in rhymes, were necessitated by one or two of the transpositions already discussed. There remain, after all these have been accounted for, a large number of important changes that must be attributed to Jonson's own desire to improve the translation in style and language. One cannot feel that he was always successful in this respect, though I think that the Folio is on the whole smoother and more idiomatic than the 12mo (see for instance lines 2, 119—20).

Neither is of course satisfactory from our modern point of view, though here we have to be careful in our judgment, since we know that what was apparently the final and annotated version perished in the fire of 1623. As to accuracy, I cannot see that either text has greatly the advantage of the other. In the case of particular passages one would cast one's vote now for the one, now for the other, and often refuse to vote at all. This may be said for the Folio that occasionally one feels certain that an inferiority in accuracy was the price deliberately paid for a desired improvement in expression.

Emphatic corroboration of this view as to the authority of the 12mo is to be found in the poem *To the Queen on her Birthday*, above, p. 97. The 12mo tells us in the last line that the queen was one-and-twenty; the Folio that she was two-and-twenty. Moreover, the Folio adds a stanza not to be found in the other version, and distributes the stanzas among the Muses. What this means is of course fairly obvious. Jonson wrote the song in the form found in the 12mo and in the following year revised it. Benson got hold of the earlier version.

The two poems rejected by Gifford merit our attention for a moment (see above, pp. 101, 102). The first of these Gifford rejected with some slight hesitation, thinking that the first part bore 'some slight resemblance to Jonson's style'. The other he treated with contumely. That Benson had a slight excuse for including them is shown by the fact that they are both to be found in *Harl. MS.* 6057, ff. 20 verso, 21, ascribed to Jonson.¹⁾ On the other hand, we find in *MS. Add.* 15227, ff. 46 *et seq.*, a series of eight odes entitled *Carmina illustrissimi Principis Caroli nativitatem celebrantia*, and ascribed to 'Thom: Freeman', of which series no. 4 is the same poem as the second of the two in the 12mo.²⁾

¹⁾ *Harl. MSS.* 6057, f. 20 v. *Title* on the Auspicious birth of Prince Charles 1 is] be 11 but a 17 misse] want 18 the] that 20 i' th' sky] in Skye 21 favours 22 there 26 † Ben: Johnson

F. 21. *Title* A Paralell to the Kinge of the Prince 6 ours] us 9 once] one 22 † Ben Johnson

²⁾ Variants in *MS. Add.* 15227. *Title* A Paralell to ye King of the Prince borne May 29. 1630. 3 blessed] lovely 4 worthy'st proved 9 once]

Another interesting fact is that the first poem in this series is also assigned to Jonson in *Harl.* 6057, f. 19 verso, where these spurious pieces occur among a number of poems unquestionably Jonson's. I give it here as in that MS.

On the birthdaie of Prince Charles.

The Gods greate Issue, our Joves greate increase
 an Infant Embleme of his Grandsires peace
 a Prince, the happy mothers pretty smiller
 the fathers and the unkles reconciler
 in whome the highe blood to sovereignty designd
 of Brittane, Franncce, and fflorence [Florence] are combinde
 of Burbone, medices, blest Stewards stem
 designd to weare a Triple diadem
 and where the Rose and Lilly rarely mixd
 hath made both union and succession fix'd
 him whome the yearth shall honor heaven shall blesse
 the Improved hope of future happinesse
 the Joye of other States, the fruits of ours
 is borne this day, this moone, this moneth of flowers
 Ben Johnson ¹⁾

Gifford's instinct undoubtedly served him well in rejecting the second of the poems in the 12mo. Of course a so-called sense of style is often deceptive enough in such matters, but, though Jonson could on occasion write pretty bad verse, he seems never to have perpetrated anything quite equal to this piece, compared to which the well known delightful lines:

Along the wire the electric message came:
 He is not better, he is much the same,

bear the stamp of positive inspiration. As regards the first of the two, however, I fancy that we must suspend judgment. Certainly Jonson, as Gifford admits, might have written the

one 12 of none] in none (by none *originally*, but by is crossed out, 14 th'
 16 ranne 17 knew] knowes 21 surpassing

¹⁾ Variants in *MS. Add.* 15227. *Title* Ode i^a Natalis Dies. Maij 29.
 1630. 1 The Gods deare issue, Our great Joves increase 3 th' 5 th'
 6 Florence 7 Burbons 8 Destin'd 10 Have 11 Hee ... th' 12 Th'
 13 fruit 14 noone

first part, and though I dislike to think him capable of that atrocious conceit respecting the conjunction of the sun and moon, I hesitate to affirm that he may not have been guilty of it in some moment of temporary insanity. Yet I wish that we had as good external evidence for rejecting this as we have in the case of the other. At any rate, inclusion in the 12mo and 4to is by no means conclusive in its favor.

It seems to me that there is good ground for considering the minor issues of 1640 as of little authority in comparison with the Folio. At any rate, all of the evidence, so far as I am acquainted with it, is now before the reader, and he can form his own conclusions. Hitherto that opportunity has not been afforded him.

LONDON, 1913.

WILLIAM DINSMORE BRIGGS.

Der glaube an gott gibt uns die fähigkeit, den nie hörenden kampf mit dem bösen aufzunehmen. Wie der allmächtige, so tritt auch satan im liede nicht auf, seine vertreter haben jedoch vieles von der mittelalterlichen teufelsfigur (vgl. Klaeber 35, p. 249 ff.). Über die existenz des bösen legt sich das naive bewußtsein keine rechenschaft ab; es ist da und durch seine bezwingung erringen wir das gute. Es ist noch nicht lange her, da kam Heremod, ein könig der Scyldinge, in die hölle. Das jetzige geschlecht aber will ins paradies. Eben in der bekämpfung des bösen besteht Beowulfs lebensaufgabe.

Trotz seiner mängel, zu denen vom ästhetischen standpunkt aus auch die didaktischen elemente zu zählen sind, ist so das Beowulflied nicht ein sinnloses konglomerat verschiedener weltanschauungen und gesänge, sondern ein konkretes geisteserzeugnis seiner zeit, der einheitliche ausdruck des frühen angelsächsisch-christlichen ideals.

PADUA.

ENRICO PIZZO.

STUDIES IN BEN JONSON.

III.

A. His Influence upon Henry Tubbe.

Not a great deal seems to be known about Henry Tubbe. In 1659 there was published *Meditations Divine and Morall*, by H. T., which in the British Museum catalogue is credited to him. It is a collection of pious meditations of a kind familiar enough, though above the ordinary level, and tells us little about the man himself. Further search disclosed the fact that in 1861 some one who possessed a MS. containing three centuries of meditations by Henry Tubbe (the volume of 1659 contains only one hundred pieces) had written to *Notes and Queries* asking for information about him. In a later issue, 2 ser., xii, 406, the editors of *Athenae Cantabrigienses* supply the following facts: "Henry Tubbe, son of John Tubbe, captain in parts beyond the seas, born at Southampton, and educated for seven years at Croyden in Surrey, under Mr. Webbe; admitted a pensioner of St. John's College 3rd June, 1635, aged nearly seventeen. He was B. A. 1638—9, and M. A. 1642." This Mr. Webbe was John Webbe, M. A., of Magdalen Hall, appointed chaplain of Archbishop Whitgift's hospital and school in Croydon in 1629.¹⁾

A large amount of verse and prose by Henry Tubbe is to be found in *Harl. MS.* 4126 in the British Museum. To give a complete account of the contents of this MS. would take too much space. Briefly, they are as follows. First

¹⁾ Wood, ed. Bliss, III, 950; Garrow's *History of Croydon*, 1818.

come thirty-four epistles in prose, and following them four in verse, but unaddressed. There follow fifteen elegies, arranged in two groups, after which are five hymns, and then two imaginary letters in prose, one from Penelope to Ulysses, the other from Dido to Aeneas. Then come a number of odes and several other poems of a humorous character. Ff. 91—110 contain miscellaneous pieces, including several satires, and two or three prose 'characters'. Then occur a number of epigrams arranged in two groups and two books 'Epistolarum ad Familiareis'. Succeeding these are several 'devotions', three more 'characters', and a third group of epigrams. It is perfectly evident from a number of indications that cannot be given here that the MS. contains only a portion of Tubbe's literary productions; it is equally evident that he took his efforts rather seriously, though we know of nothing published by him save the volume already referred to.

From the letters, which are themselves of a good deal of interest, we learn something, though not much, about his life and the circle in which he moved. From one letter, for instance, we learn that a certain Samuel Bernard, D. D., had been his guardian, and on turning to Garrow's *History of Croydon* we find that Samuel Bernard was collated to that vicarage in 1624. The records of the vicarage do not tell how long he remained there, but from the same letter it is evident that he was deprived of his living by the Commonwealth. From other allusions it appears that Tubbe would himself have entered the ministry had he not been prevented by his bad health and the unsettled state of the country. In some way he seems to have been dependent upon the marquis of Hertford and in 1648 he was living at Essex House, half of which as we know from other sources had been leased by that nobleman. Shortly after that date he entered the family of the earl of Thanet, apparently as private tutor, and in consequence went to live at Hothfield in Kent. We get glimpses of Tubbe's aunt, Mrs. Anne Symcots, and of his brother, who espoused the side of the Commonwealth and seems to have broken off all intercourse with him. A number of the poems and letters are to Lady Penelope Spencer, wife of William second Baron Spencer of Wormleighton, and daughter of the third earl of Southampton; her son

Thomas had seemingly been under Tubbe's tuition. Other letters are to a William Cole, a kinsman and close friend, who lived, so far as I can gather, in London. Tubbe's own life does not seem to have been altogether happy. There are hints here and there that, although the country life was much to his taste, yet he found himself at times over-taxed by the duties attached to his charge. He was afflicted with a recurrent deafness of a serious character, and also with a disease of the lungs, apparently tuberculosis. To do him justice, he complains little, yet it is clear that he had often reason to be despondent enough. Such interest, however, as the letters possess does not reside in the scanty information they supply, but rather in the glimpse they afford into the life of a man of sense and education, compelled by personal troubles and the turn of public affairs to relinquish the occupation he would gladly have taken up and to drift hither and thither much as the chance favor of noble patrons should determine.

But we must turn our attention to the epigrams. To these there is a title-page mentioning only one book, but as there are three groups I shall call them Books I, II, III, for the sake of convenience. What strikes us as soon as we begin to consider the poems themselves attentively is that Tubbe models his epigrams upon Jonson, as a number of bits of evidence, as well as the general character of the poems themselves, go to show. The title-page mentioned above, for example, runs as follows: 'Epigramēs. I. Booke. me duce certus eris. Mart.' I need not emphasize the similarity to the title-page of Jonson's epigrams, nor how this similarity is supported by the language of the heading to the dedication: 'To the Great President of all Honour, & Vertue, the most noble [no name follows in the MS. The epigrams were never published and perhaps Tubbe had not made up his mind to whom to dedicate them]. The dedication is itself worth printing in this connection: "My Lord, It will be thought a strange presumption in mee, after two such Masters of their Art as Martial & Jonson, to write an Epigram: Martial the Glory of a Roman Witt, Johnson the great Example of an English Muse. True, if I meant this as a Foile to their perfections, (whose lustre needs no shadow to set it off) my

boldnes could not be excused by seeming modest; for which no man's severest censure would prove unjust. So then, doth any demand, why I writ these? I will answer roughly, To please my Selfe, and to vex those, who love their diseases above the remedy [this is of course one of Jonson's favorite thoughts], and had rather run on still in the pursuit of Evill, than endure the shame of a profitable repentance. Yet with such as willingly embrace their amendment, & others, that studdy to preserve those inherent vertues, of which they are possest, these lines (how harsh & weake soever) will find a sweeter correspondence. Wherefore it shall not repent mee to have gone the same way, that our Progenitors have overrun with ease. And there can be no unnecessary superfluitie in the performance of this taske, though the precedent be never so old. That I have used the protection of so high a Name as Yours, is much, and will but confirm my weaknes. But let it suffice for an excuse, that my Desires, though unequall, are not dishonest. For I am willfully resolved to approve my Selfe Your Lo. most dutifull Servant Hen. Tubbe."

That our author had Jonson in mind is shown also by certain coincidences of title. In Book I, for instance, no. i is 'To the Reader', no. ii, 'To my Booke', no. iii, 'To the Stationer'; the first three of Jonson's epigrams are respectively, 'To the Reader', 'To my Book', 'To my Bookseller'. No. iv of Tubbe is 'To the Critick', no. xvii of Jonson, 'To the Learned Critic'; Tubbe's no. v is 'On Play-wright', corresponding to nos. xlix and lxviii of Jonson; Tubbe's nos. vi and xvi are 'To Poet-Ape', which is the title of one of the best known of Jonson's, no. lvi; Tubbe, no. vii, 'To the Plagiary', recalls Jonson, no. lxxxi; Tubbe's no. ix, 'To my Muse', has the same title as Jonson's no. lxv. Here the coincidences in Book I cease, and I find none in Book II, but in Book III occur no. iv, 'On Monsieur Cod' (cf. Jonson, nos. xix, xx, and 1), no. xiv, 'On Mad. Haughty' (cf. *Epicoene*), no. xix, 'On Monsieur Briske' (cf. *Every Man out of his Humour*), and no. xxiii, 'To S. Epicure Glutton' (cf. Sir Epicure Mammon in *The Alchemist*). In addition, no. xxiv is a translation of Martial, x, 47, which we know that Jonson also translated (Cunningham-Gifford, three-volume ed., III, 388), though it must be admitted, first, that this epigram was frequently translated in the seventeenth

century, and second, that it is quite doubtful whether Tubbe knew of Jonson's translation, which was not printed until the nineteenth century. That there are not even more of these coincidences in title is probably due to the fact that a very large number of Tubbe's epigrams are, like so many of Jonson's, short epistles to particular persons.

There are also distinct evidences of imitation not infrequently to be found in the epigrams themselves as well as in their titles. The first of Book I has certain verbal reminiscences of no. i of Jonson and is clearly an adaptation of it in thought:

To the Reader.

Read well my Booke; and that will make thee good:
I doe desire so to be understood.

Compare Jonson:

To the Reader.

Pray thee, take care, that tak'st my booke in hand,
To reade it well: that is, to understand.

Tubbe's third is markedly imitative:

To the Stationer.

Thou that receiv'st all Bookes, & dost sell some,
And sometimes good, give mine a little room
In thy voluminous shop: there let it lie
Till it be call'd for, & not taught to crie
I 'th' Streets, or make a dumb Post speake to those
Who can scarce see the Title for their Nose.
Here are no Proclamations. therefore spare
This needlesse wast of thy unlucky ware.
Let the Booke perish, & with it my Name,
Rather than thus advanc'd with triviall fame.

Jonson's no. iii:

To my Booke-seller.

Thou, that mak'st gaine thy end, and wisely well,
Call'st a booke good, or bad, as it doth sell,
Use mine so, too: I give thee leave. But crave
For the lucks sake, it thus much favour have.

To lye upon thy stall, till it be sought:
 Not offer'd, as it made sute to be bought;
 Nor have my title-leaf on posts, or walls,
 Or in cleft-sticks, advanced to make calls
 For termers, or some clarke-like serving-man,
 Who scarce can spell th'hard names: whose knight
 lesse can.
 If, without these vile arts, it will not sell,
 Send it to Bucklers-bury, there 'twill, well.

An equally clear case of imitation is found in the fifth of Book I:

On Play-wright.

Play-wright most proudly swears my Epigrammes
 Are dull, & stinke; because no wanton games
 Are here set forth for his lascivious vain
 To worke upon: he sayes, I want the straine
 Of Witt, obscenenesse; which indeed I left,
 Lest my Adultry should betray his Theft.

Compare Jonson, no. xlix:

To Play-wright.

Play-wright me reades, and still my verses damnes,
 He sayes, I want the tongue of Epigrammes;
 I have no salt: no bawdrie he doth meane.
 For wittie, in his language, is obscene.
 Play-wright, I loath to have thy manners knowne
 In my chast booke: professe them in thine owne.

These are the most striking cases of direct imitation that I have noticed, but the evidences of Jonson's influence are by no means exhausted. Tubbe not infrequently catches up phrases from Jonson; thus in Book, I, Ep. ix, the phrase 'deceive their spite' is clearly derived from the 'deceive their malice' of Jonson's second epigram. So in Ep. xi of the same book, the phrase 'I am all wonder' suggests the 'I am all marble' of the elegy on the Lady Paulet in *The Underwoods*. Numerous examples could easily be given, both from Tubbe's epigrams and from his other poems, but I pass them over. In addition, however, I might call attention to the frequent

references he makes to Jonson by name, and the frequent allusions to characters in the plays. A rapid reading of Tubbe's poems and prose pieces shows that he knew his Jonson intimately.

But it is not alone on the fact that there exist in his epigrams such more or less definite reminiscences of Jonson that one should rely in order to show his indebtedness; one must also consider the matter of style. In this respect Tubbe undoubtedly proposed Jonson as his model. He tries to attain a similar strength and weight of phrase, a similar plainness and directness of statement; he eschews with equal self-denial all superfluous ornament, and relies for his effect upon solidity of thought, emphatic yet restrained expression, gravity of subject-matter, and high moral appeal. If for example the following poem had been discovered with Jonson's signature attached, who would have hesitated to accept it as authentic? If it is not Jonson at his epigrammatic best, it is, in spite of certain weaknesses of expression, not a piece that he need have disdained to acknowledge. We are not given the name of the person to whom this epigram, no. xiii, Book I, is addressed.

My Lord. You have the Will and Pow'r to doe
 That which is good & great; the knowledge too
 Of every Circūstance in every Act,
 Which makes the meanest Worke a famous Fact.
 That you know how, & where, & when t'apply
 Your favour, love, respect; this drawes the Eye
 Of the whole World upon your vertues; all
 Admire to see goodnes so rise & fall
 As is the object that it workes upon:
 Whereby the least things seem the greatest, donne
 With such a seasonable grace and measure,
 Proportion, & just weight: you take a pleasure
 To be exactly vertuous; and your Friends
 Wonder, delight, & love to see your Ends.
 That you know how to fight, & how to cloath
 Your armes in Peace; that you are skill'd in both,
 In both alike, is the amazement of
 Your Humble Creatures, (although they that scoffe

And jeer at Vertue will say this is nought
 But a fine trick of State, a handsome Fault)
 Because 'tis rare; and wee have seldome known
 An equall fame, an even, just renown
 Accrue to severall Acts. But they that know
 Your cleer integritie, can sweare & vow,
 That this Dexteritie proceeds from sound
 And strong abilities, not from a round,
 Smooth, nimble, turning, close & crafty Art:
 For in bad wayes you have a silly Heart.
 Truth, Sir, is plaine & powerfull: it needs
 No shifting tricks to make her glorious deeds
 Shine forth in their brave brightnes: Plainnesse is
 A purer gem than those, for w^{ch} wee kisse
 The painted Face of Vice. Then let mee find
 No wisdom, but what dwells in such a Mind,
 Where Greatnes mixt with Goodnes beares the Sway.
 That Mind is like Yours, I dare boldly say.

The reader can hardly fail to recognize thoughts familiar enough in Jonson's poems, — the emphasis upon a desired coincidence between goodness and greatness, the excellence of the virtues of judgment and proportion, the excellence of truth plain and unadorned. And if we examine the versification and the choice of words, we shall find a thoroughly Jonsonian metre and a thoroughly Jonsonian diction.

Nor can one fail to observe that Tubbe's conception of the epigram was precisely that of Jonson. He rarely indulges in wordplay, puns, tricky turns of thought, pointed jests, or 'narrations', to use Jonson's phrase. Nor is he open to that other criticism that Jonson passed in his talks with Drummond: "A great many epigrams were ill, because they expressed in the end what should have been understood by what was said." Many of his epigrams are really short moral epistles, as for instance the fifteenth of Book I:

To the L. Penelope Spencer.
 What Soule is not affected with delight,
 That bends to Vertue, & the Love of right,
 To see the Wisdom of your honest Life
 And righteous Acts, in such a World; so rife

And ranke in mischeife? when the Age is full
 Of fruitfull Sin, & to all goodnes dull:
 When falsehood, treacherie, and base delight
 Are earned with the Sweat of Day & Night:
 When only Wickednes is the Reward
 Of all our Labours, & wee studdy hard
 To goe to Hell, although for halfe this paines
 Wee might obtaine the joy of better gaines;
 Get Heaven it selfe, with much lesse care; & find
 More reall Pleasures than the greatest mind
 Can comprehend, or wish. Among the rest
 Of mortalls you are one that knowes what's best,
 And therefore shun these crooked wayes, w^{ch} bend
 To utter ruine & a shamefull end.
 That you can stand upright in such a crowd
 Of dismall Vice; that You can sit & shroud
 Your Selfe securely under Vertue's wings,
 Make that your Safe-guard, whilst all other things
 Neglected are; this, Madam, doth present
 Your Person with much gladnes & content
 To those few vertuous Minds, that yet remaine,
 Resolv'd in their just thoughts to entertaine
 No other Object, but what Goodness brings
 To their glad View; untill the King of Kings
 Extend his brightnes in full, perfect sight,
 And turne all Clouds of darkness into Light.

Since Jonson was Tubbe's model in the writing of epi-
 grams we should expect that after the manner of the time
 he should address him in verse, and we are not disappointed,
 for no. viii of Book I is:

To B. Johnson.

Great King of Poets! give mee leave to know
 So much as here below
 Is left of thee; for what thou art above,
 No Art of Man can prove.
 He that was once a Wonder, now must be
 Thus neer a Deitie:
 Till our Mortalitie be chang'd as much,
 Wee can beleeeve him such,

But never comprehend: the Pow'r, which is
 United to his blisse
 Must needs transcend conceit; when what remaines
 Requires a World of paines
 To understand: they are things so divine,
 That no man dares define.
 If any ignorantly bold expresse
 Their truth, he makes it lesse;
 Lesse than it is, if things are as they're thought,
 Not as they're truly wrought.
 But vaine Opinion to thee shall not add
 A Being worse than Bad:
 'Tis Worse than Nothing, 'tis as bad as Death,
 To live by others Breath.
 Fame cannot lend a Trumpet loud enough;
 Men may sweat, blow, & puffe,
 And strive, but vainely, who shall best set forth
 Thy true essentiall Worth.
 It's better to be dumb, than to declare
 What Thou, or thy Workes are:
 Yet I have begg'd the last, though without hope
 To learne: the only Scope
 Of my intentions is to let all see
 How much I reverence thee.

In view of the influence exerted by Jonson I am strongly inclined to believe that the following elegy, which has no title in the MS., f. 45 verso, also refers to him:

In such a Traine of Friends, that sing thy Death
 In pious Accents, spending their sad Breath
 For losse of thine; that bring religious Verse
 To crown thy sable, venerable Hearse:
 I that can greive as much as any, yet
 Want Art to make my Sorrows seem as great:
 Have no more pow'r to raise thy Rev'rend Name
 With high-built Trophies of Triumphant Fame,
 Than the swift Orbs to move in their just course
 Without their proper Angells. For that Force
 Which works in mee, is only Influence
 Dispens'd by Thee, my true Intelligence:

And if there yet remains some active Fire,
 It is no more than what Thou didst inspire:
 And these weake motions of my sickly Pen
 Thus trembling at thy Blacks, are such, as when
 The Steel is shaken by the pow'rfull Stone.
 But what Thou givest, Strength my Muse hath none.
 So like an empty Cloud, that drains the Ground
 Of fruitfull Moisture, and then poures it down
 Againe, there may some Drops of Wit proceed
 From mee, w^{ch} first in thy rich Soile did breed.
 And though the Giver can no more dispence,
 Yet old Effects retaine their former Sence:
 As in a breathlesse Body wee may see
 The panting Reliques of Activitie
 And Life, by vertue of some vitall Heat
 Yet glim'ring, though the Soule, the Sun be set.

It may be said that Jonson is not the only writer of whom traces are to be found in these poems, though I have not attempted to note more than an instance here or there. Any editor of Tubbe, who as the editor of *Notes and Queries* remarked many years ago is quite worth reprinting, would have to work out this aspect of his verse in detail. For instance, his epigram no. xxvi, Book I, 'To William Davenant. On His Poem of Madagascar', is a clear imitation of Suckling's poem on the same subject, while a reminiscence of Shakespeare, to whose works there are several allusions of one kind or another, is contained in the following passage from a very long elegy on Charles I, entitled 'The Roiall Martyr', f. 51 verso:

A gracefull Aspect; a Brow smooth'd wth Love;
 The Curls of Venus with the Front of Jove;
 An Eye like Mars, to threaten & comand
 More than the Burnish'd Scepter in his Hand:
 A Standing like the Herald Mercurie etc.

In another case he apparently had a poem of Randolph's in mind, and in a long and amusing poem on Oliver Cromwell's nose he introduced several passages in imitation of a type of stanza that seems first to have been devised by Henry King.¹⁾

¹⁾ Cf. 1843 ed. of King's poems, CXIX.

It would be quite unjust to our author if the reader should draw from what I have said the inference that he is an imitator and little else. On the contrary, he displays a great deal of independence. There is plenty of evidence that he was a man of character and self-reliance, both in real life as well as in his poetical efforts. Often, when the title of an epigram is taken from Jonson, the subject will be handled in more or less complete independence. There is always to be sure the similarity of style, which has been sufficiently illustrated by what I have already brought forward, but even this similarity often means simply that Tubbe had adopted the same stylistic ideals as Jonson, and not that he was directly imitating him. The following poem, which is I think the best of all his productions, and which, though contained among the epigrams (II, vii), has no claim to such a title, will show the truth of this statement:

On Poverty.

Deare Wealth! the Stamp of Innocence,
 The Character of Wit and Eloquence:
 Whom the ill fortunes of a wretched Time
 Hurt not, nor th' miseries of another Clime.
 A Shadow, that secures the Light
 Of Vertue; a still, quiet Night,
 Which breakes at length into a glorious Day,
 That brings rich everlasting Pay.
 If from th' event most things receive their meed,
 Then Poverty is gallant Wealth indeed.

Faire, lovely Mistris of Content;
 A carelesse, yet a comely Ornament
 To the brave Soule; a safe & strong Retreat
 For injur'd Goodnes, from the frownes of great
 And unjust Men, from tyrants clawes,
 And tortures of Committee-Lawes.
 Fortune can never injure those, whom thou
 Dost harbour in thy wrinckled Brow:
 Where Happines, like Wealthy Wine imured
 I 'th' Vessell, fetter'd lies to be secur'd.

Wisdome, that cannot be deceiv'd;
 A Dowry far to great to be conceiv'd;

True Roiall Thoughts; an uncontrouled State,
 That tramples on the malice of weake Fate;
 Pure Fancy; high, immortall Love;
 Eternall Formes, that range above;
 A mighty Masse of everlasting Grace;
 Things boundlesse, without Time, or Place:
 All these, like Jewells set in bright black Jet,
 Shine through this ragged, poor, dark Cabinet.

Great Nurse of Arts & Learning, Want,
 That stores the Heart, as the wise, painfull Ant
 Her Nest, with timely, plentifull defence,
 Against the stormes, & raging violence
 Of subtle Envy & false Pride,
 Whose Witchcrafts ruine their own Side.
 By Thee, wee learne, to know the Deitie,
 A treasure of true Pietie,
 And our own Selves; than which there cannot be
 More sound assurance of Felicitie.

Then wellcome blessed Poverty,
 Farwell fond Joyes, & idle Vanitie;
 Haile Sovereigne Princesse of firm, solid Joy,
 Adieu foule God of Vice & each vaine Toy.
 Angells alone, that are divine,
 Enjoy such treasures, as mine.
 Nor cruell Starrs, nor adamantine Fates,
 Can dart their influence through my Gates.
 From thee, Sweet Goddess, all vile mischeifes run,
 As misty clouds are scatter'd by the Sun.

Thou art the Legacy of Peace:
 The Poet's Muse: the Honest Man's Increase.
 Our Riches are in Heaven: yet every Losse
 On Earth, is coin'd with th' Image of that Crosse
 Which bought the World; and so doth prove
 A Portion for the Sonnes of Jove.
 Thus Supreme Blessings are to us brought down,
 As th' Earnest of an heavenly Crown:
 Thus Need procures Abundance: thus wee see
 A Vertue now made of Necessitie.

for though with tired pace & sweaty feete
 I never went to Scotland nor did meete
 thee att returne my selfe alone or with
 my freinds but so far of a[s] Hamersmith
 yett I ofte unto *your* Iurnes glory
 with patience heard you tell the teadious story
 of all you in that trafficke suffered thoughe
 I was as tyr'd as thou couldst bee to goe
 besides I have beene druncke with thee & then
 satt still and heard the rayle at other men
 repeate thy verses, and done all that might
 t make my Succession to thy hart be right
 and tother daie I gave thee stile & woords
 preferred thee in my Choise before greate Lords
 but thou hast proved nowe by this neglect
 lesse worthy then that groome my disrespect
 heere Charected unto the life for hee
 deceived no trust which murthered is by thee
 from henceforth this repute dwell with the then
 the best of Poetts but the worst of men
 Inigo Jones

I strongly suspect that these lines were not written by Jones, but rather by one of his partisans, for they display more skill of fence than I suppose Jones possessed. However, they are attributed to him definitely, and so far as I am aware there is no evidence to disprove the attribution. When they were written is uncertain, as the only allusion that can be traced is that to Jonson's journey to Scotland.

C. Epigrams 40, 93.

Jonson's praise of Margaret Radcliffe and of her brother Sir John is so warm that every reader will be glad to have whatever information concerning them it is possible to acquire. Cunningham was fortunate enough to learn something about Margaret Radcliffe and the cause of her death from the *Sidney Papers* (see his nine-volume edition of Jonson, I, ix—xi); he also pointed out that the brother whose death so affected her was Sir Alexander Radcliffe, slain in Ireland at the battle of the Curlews, 5 Aug. 1599, and he discovered an

interesting reference to 'poor Jack Radcliffe' in a letter from Essex to the Queen; Gifford had already pointed out that Sir John was slain at the Isle of Rhé. The family, however, has not yet been definitely identified.

Camden in his *Elizabeth* (Kennet's *Complete History*, II, 615) gives us the clue, for he remarks that Sir Alexander Radcliffe 'of Ordsal' was killed at the Curlews. From an examination of his inquisition, held Dec. 19, 42 Eliz., we learn interesting details. Besides the usual enumeration of manors held, etc., it contains two deeds of gift drawn up respectively on the 20th and 21st March, 41 Eliz., to take effect upon his death. According to one he conveys to his sister Margaret £ 2000, to his sisters Anne and Jane £ 1000 apiece. By the other he conveys to Mary Radcliffe, of the Queen's privy chamber, and to Thomas Gellybrand the manor of Ashby in Lincoln as well as other lands, in trust. This Mary Radcliffe, whose relationship is not specified, is of course the Mary Radcliffe whose name so frequently occurs in Nichol's *Progresses of Elizabeth* and in the *State Papers Domestic*. Thomas Gellybrand is indirectly referred to in one of the Sidney letters quoted by Cunningham. Sir Alexander left apparently no female children, certainly no male children, for his brother John Radcliffe 'modo miles' is given as his heir. It is further stated that Sir John was seventeen on the preceding February 22. Sir Alexander also left small annuities to his brothers Edmund and Thomas. An abstract of his will, likewise containing many of the facts given above, may be found in *Stanley Papers*, pt. ii, Chetham Soc., 1853, 215—6.

Sir Alexander, who is said to have been one of the knights created by Elizabeth after the Armada, did excellent service in Ireland, and is often mentioned with praise in the *Carew MSS.* and in the *Irish State Papers* for 1599—1600. Before he went over it was thought that he would be a colonel (Chamberlain to Carleton, Jan. 17, 1598—9), but Fynes Moryson, who gives a detailed account of the battle of the Curlews (ed. 1907, II, 244—5), calls him 'a worthy Captaine'.

Sir John had been knighted by Essex in Ireland, 24 Sept., 1599. A few references to him in the *State Papers* tell us little, except that a William Ratcliff, evidently some relative, went security for him to the extent of above £ 600 and

suffered for it after his death (see under Aug. 2, 1628). He was killed at the Isle of Rhé at the age of forty-five, and his inquisition was held shortly after. He had apparently no daughters and but one son, Alexander, whose wife was named Jane. She, as we know from other sources, was the daughter (usually called natural daughter, but cf. G. E. C., *Complete Peerage*, s. v. Sussex) of Robert, fifth earl of Sussex (see Baines' *History of Lancashire*, I, 528; but Baines must be corrected as to other details in accordance with facts given above).

In Ep. 93 Jonson speaks of two brothers as having fallen in battle in Ireland. A Captain Ratcliff was taken by the enemy at the Blackwater in 1598, and later died of his wounds (*St. Papers, Irish*, 1598—9). Two other brothers died of 'the Belgick fever'. These cannot be satisfactorily traced. 'Mr. Radcliffe Brother to Sir John Radcliffe' was taken prisoner by the Spanish in October, 1605, at the same battle at which Sir Henry Cary was taken prisoner, see Ep. 66, and another friend of Jonson, Sir John Roe, was wounded in the head (Edmonds to Cornwallis, 21 Oct., 1605, Winwood's *Memorials*, II, 145), but I find nothing as to his ultimate fate, nor can one learn whether he was Thomas or Edmund. However, the fact shows that Ep. 93 must be later than October, 1605.

Nicholas L'Estrange, in his MS. jest-book, *Harl.* 6395, no. 34, has an anecdote of the Mary Radcliffe mentioned above: "Mrs Ratcliffe, an old courtier in Q: Eliz: time, told a Lord whose conversation and discourse she did not like, that his witte was like a Custard, nothing good in it but the Toppe, and when that was eaten, you might through away the rest."

D. The Epitaph on Prince Henry.

Chetwood, in his *Memoirs of Ben Jonson*, 1756, 40—41, printed an epitaph on Prince Henry which he asserted to be by Jonson. The same attribution was made independently of Chetwood by J. T. Curry, in *Notes and Queries*, 9 Ser., iv, 491, who referred to the printing of the poem in Camden's *Remaines*, 1614, 381—2. A lively correspondence ensued between Mr. Curry and Mr. Percy Simpson, as the result of which the latter accepted the lines as Jonson's, though not entirely

because of Mr. Curry's arguments. The question, I think, needs re-examination.

Camden, after saying that for Prince Henry "many excellent Epitaphs were composed every where extant, but this have I selected", then goes on to print the lines, which I give from his text of 1614. He gives no title, nor does he mention any author.

Reader, wonder thinke it none
 Though I speake and am a stone.
 Here is shrinde caelestiall dust,
 And I keepe it but in trust.
 Should I not my Treasure tell,
 Wonder then you might as well,
 How this stone could choose but breake,
 If it had not learnt to speake.
 Hence amazd, and aske not mee,
 Whose these sacred ashes bee.
 Purposely it is conceald,
 For if that should be reveald,
 All that reade would by and by,
 Melt themselves to teares, and dy.

Within this marble casket lies,
 A mathclesse jewell of rich prize,
 Whom Nature in the worlds disdaine,
 But shewd, and then put up againe.

For purposes of convenient reference I shall call the two parts of this epitaph respectively (a) and (b).

Now what are the arguments in favor of Jonson's authorship? In the first place, there is the assertion of Chetwood. But he gives no evidence of any kind to support it, and he wrote a hundred and nineteen years after Jonson's death. We can only suppose that he was either relying on tradition, though there is no indication that any such tradition existed at any time, or that he found the lines in Camden or elsewhere and ascribed them to Jonson on the strength of his friendship with Camden and their resemblance to other epitaphs by Jonson, the same arguments in short that are presented by Curry. In either case his assertion, for which, be it emphasized, he gives no reasons, has no probative value whatever.

In the second place, 'it would have been strange', according to Mr. Curry, if Jonson had not written an epitaph on Prince Henry. But that is not the question. The question is, a) whether he did write an epitaph on him; b) whether this is the one he wrote. The establishment of an antecedent motive for committing an act which a score of other persons committed independently at the same time does not prove the commission of the act by the person accused nor does it justify identifying a particular instance of its commission as his. Nor is the argument especially strengthened by the statement that Jonson and Camden were close friends and that in consequence Camden would select Jonson's epitaph for insertion. It may be replied that Camden was also a close friend of other poets, and that if the lines he prints had happened to resemble the style of any given one of them, the argument of friendship would apply equally well in that direction. In other words, if there are independent grounds for supposing the poem to be Jonson's, then the friendship with Camden will help to explain his selection of it, but it is not in itself proof of authorship. Moreover, it is fairly certain that Jonson was in Paris at the time of Prince Henry's death and for many months after, during which time we may suppose Camden was preparing his MS. for the press. This fact by itself proves nothing, but it makes it less likely that Camden should have known anything that Jonson may have written at the time.

In the third place, the resemblance to Jonson's other epitaphs is not as convincing an argument as at first it seems. By his epitaphs on Margaret Radcliffe and on his own children as well as by that on 'Elizabeth, L. H.', and perhaps by others of which we know nothing, Jonson seems to have as it were established a type of epitaph that found almost immediate popularity. From the MS. poetry books of the period as well as from printed sources, it would not be difficult to collect a number of epitaphs written in this style, all betraying strong Jonsonian influence. Here, for example, is one from Henry Tubbe's poems, *Harl.* 4126, f. 120 verso.

Reader, if thou hast but Eyes,
Weepe thou must: behold here lies

Meeknes, Zeale, and Modestie,
Goodnes, Love, and Pietie:
All the Vertues, that are fixt
T' others singly, here are mixt.
I'll say no more: too much praise
Blushes in her Dust will raise.

At this point it may be remarked that the inconclusive nature of the arguments brought forward in the case of this poem is shown by the fact that every one of them could be urged with equal or greater force to prove Jonson's authorship of the epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke. It is likely that he should have written an epitaph on her, it is likely that the great friendship between him and Camden led the latter to include it in the 1623 edition of the *Remaines* (see p. 340), it bears a strong resemblance to his other epitaphs, it was asserted in 1756 to be his by a better authority than Chetwood, namely, Whalley, and Whalley tells us in addition that it was traditionally supposed to be Jonson's. Yet for all this the poem in question will probably never again appear in an edition of Jonson's works except in a note.

Before passing to another phase of the subject, I should take account of the negative argument brought forward by Mr. Simpson. At first he took the position that the non-appearance of the epitaph in the folio of 1616 could not easily be explained. Then, adopting Fleay's theory as to the original intention to publish this volume in 1612 or 1613, he admitted that the failure to print the epitaph in it did not militate against Jonson's authorship. I cannot here discuss the soundness of the theory referred to, and I have elsewhere given reasons for regarding it as unproved. I need only say that if we conclude the evidence of Jonson's authorship to be insufficient, then there is no need to consider the question why the poem did not appear in 1616; further, that until the theory of Fleay is more firmly established, the non-appearance of the poem in 1616 is presumptive evidence that Jonson did not write it, and Mr. Simpson's original argument still stands.

What then are the points that may be brought forward against Jonson's authorship? I do not assert that the poem is nowhere attributed to Jonson before Chetwood, but I have

seen a large number of copies of it, both in print and in manuscript, and in not a single case is it ascribed to him or in any way connected with him.

Secondly, Gifford, in his note on *Und.* 33, says that the piece "appears to be patched up from different poems". I do not know what *his* grounds for making the assertion were, but there is some reason in it. For instance, Curry quotes from Fuller's *Church History*, Book x, cent. xvii, sect. iv, 22, a Latin epitaph by Giles Fletcher on Prince Henry:

Si sapis, attonitus sacro decede sepulcro,
Nec cineri quae sunt nomina quare novo,
Prudens celavit sculptor, nam quisque rescivit,
Protinus in lachrymas solvitur, et moritur.

Of this Fuller gives the following translation:

If wise, amazed depart this holy grave;
Nor these new ashes ask, what names they have.
The graver, in concealing them, was wise;
For, whoso knows, straight melts in tears, and dies.

When he decided that this rather striking resemblance was due purely to coincidence, Curry made the easy blunder of not considering all of the evidence. He should have looked up the poem of Fletcher as the author published it (*Epicedium Cantabrigiense*, 1612, 13—4). Then he would have learned that Fuller is quoting and translating only the last four lines of an eight-line poem, of which the first four are as follows:

Carmen Sepulchrale.

Miraris quī Saxa loqui didicere, Viator?
Coeli depositum conditur hoc tumulo:
Cujus si famam, tacuissent saxa, putares
Hoc tibi mirandum, non didicisse loqui.

It is not quite obvious, when these lines are prefixed to those given by Fuller, that (a) is merely an English version of Fletcher, or that Fletcher is a Latin version of (a), or that both are directly taken from some third piece? We know, however, of no common original; it is not likely that Fletcher, for such a volume as that of 1612, would have made use of an English epitaph by some one else; and it is in the highest

degree unlikely that Jonson in making an epitaph on one of his kindest patrons and one of such national importance would himself simply translate another man's lines. It will be observed that (b) does not at all enter into the question.

Camden appears to have considered (a) and (b) as constituting together a single poem. Yet if one reads them attentively, does not one feel that (a) is complete in itself? It does not at all require (b) in order to round out the thought. (b) is likewise complete in itself, and does not require (a) as introduction or explanation. Perhaps a realization of this fact made Gifford speak as he did. In any case, the fact that the poem can be separated into two parts, each a complete whole, is emphasized if we turn to the other versions that have come down to us. This separation has already taken place in Munday's edition, 1618, of Stow's *Survey of London*, 881—2. Munday there prints (a) as an epitaph on Prince Henry, and follows it up with (b), which he heads 'Another'. Again, (b) occurs in *Wit's Recreations* among the *Epitaphs* (ed. 1640, no. 75; 1641, no. 77; 1645, no. 85; 1650, no. 88) as an epitaph on a child; (a) occurs in the same publication (1641, no. 157; 1645, no. 171; 1650, no. 180) as an epitaph on Prince Henry. Two, and only two, MSS. in the British Museum, namely, *Harl.* 3511, f. 71, and *Add.* 27406, f. 75, follow Camden's example in apparently treating (a) and (b) as one poem. This is at any rate the case with *Add.* 27406; *Harl.* 3511, however, has at the end of (a) the slanting stroke that in so many MSS. (and in this one also) marks ordinarily the end of a piece. Moreover, (b) is brought up to the margin, whereas (a) is set in from the margin, so that even here the point is at least doubtful. This MS. does not give either (a) or (b) a title. In *Add.* 29921, f. 38 verso, 39, (b) immediately follows (a), but has the title 'On the same', so that the writer evidently thought it a separate piece. Only three other MSS. in the Museum contain both (a) and (b), but in all three they are widely separated (*Sl.* 1792, 22 verso, 113; *Add.* 15227, 11 verso, 73; *Add.* 30982, 2, 20); these three agree in giving (a) as an epitaph on the prince, and (b) as on a child dying shortly after birth, while the last attributes (b) to G. Morley. In addition to these MSS. (a) is found in *Burn.* 390, 23 verso, *Harl.* 4888, 255 verso, *Add.* 33998, 85

and *Eg.* 2421, 45 verso, as an epitaph on Prince Henry, while (b) is found in *Eg.* 923, 15, and *Add.* 22118, 31, as an epitaph on Prince Henry, in *Add.* 11811, 2 verso, and *Add.* 28644, 76 verso, as an epitaph on a child, in *Add.* 10309, 63, as simply an epitaph, and in *Eg.* 2230, 33 verso, and *Harl.* 1221, 70, without a title. There is then only one MS., *Add.* 27406, of which we can say that the writer unquestionably considered (a) and (b) as parts of the same poem, and the text of this MS. exhibits, except as regards spelling and punctuation, only one slight variation from Camden, namely 'those' for 'these' in line 10 of (a). The importance of this last point will be apparent to every student of these commonplace books, for it indicates that this version probably came from Camden's work, and that hence this MS. has probably no independent value. If this be granted, Camden is then our sole authority for the 'unity' of the poem. And if his high authority be considered sufficient on this point, I must record my conviction that Jonson was a better artist than to construct an epitaph which could fall to pieces so readily and so completely. He knew the meaning of 'callida iunctura' somewhat better than that.

Among the *Ashmole MSS.* I have found three copies of (a), in every case as an epitaph on Prince Henry (38, 178; 47, 108 verso; 781, 149); (b) I have found only once (38, 168) and there it is given as on the death of an infant. Other Bodleian MSS. yield similar results (cf. *Eng. Poet.* e. 14, 99; *Rawl. Poet.* 160, 26 verso; *Rawl. Poet.* 31, 2 verso), but curiously *Eng. Poet.* e. 14, 96 verso, entitles (b) 'On y^e L. Mary daughter to K. James'. In a Dyce MS. (South Kensington, no. 44, 70 verso) (b) occur as an 'Epitaphium'.

Another point may be mentioned. The 'conceit' in the last lines of (b) is not altogether applicable to Prince Henry, who died at eighteen, in other words, when he had practically reached manhood, according to the ideas of that age. It is, however, quite applicable to the death of a child. From this point of view, (b) may be said to belong to a type of epitaph not uncommon at the period. I take three examples from *Wit's Recreations*, ed. 1641, but others might be given from other sources.

68. On a Child.

Into this world as stranger to an Inne
 This child came guest-wise, where when it had bin
 A while and found nought worthy of his stay,
 He onely broke his fast, and went away.

72. On a Child.

As carefull nurses on their beds doe lay,
 Their babes which would too long the wantons play,
 So to prevent my youth's ensuing crimes,
 Nature my nurse laid me to bed betimes.

76. On a Child.

Tread softly passenger, for here doth lye
 A dainty Jewell of sweet infancie:
 A harmlesse babe, that onely came and cry'd
 In baptisme to be wash't from sinne and dy'd.

The strongest bit of evidence against Jonson's supposed authorship has yet to be mentioned. The first two editions of the *Lachrymae Lachrymarum*, 1613, contain only one or two pieces besides Sylvester's own, but the third, of the same year, has, besides an enlarged version of Sylvester's lines, several additional English poems. Among these occurs (a), and at the end are placed the title and initials of the man who in this instance seems to have claimed it, 'S^r P. O.' The second portion, (b), does not occur. Now, Sylvester was a friend of Jonson and, though he may not be responsible for the collection and publication of the additional pieces in this edition, yet he must have had something to do with the volume, since his own long elegy is considerably enlarged over the earlier version, and in any case he is quite likely to have known whether (a) was by Jonson. Who 'Sir P. O.' was I have no idea, but it seems on the whole clear that he translated Fletcher's lines somewhat in Jonson's manner; that Camden printed them (perhaps not knowing the author, and possibly, though not probably, thinking them Jonson's); that owing to some blunder (b), which should have been headed 'Another on the Same', lost its title and became separated from (a) only by a blank space; and that probably (b) had originally nothing to do with Prince Henry. It occurs, for

instance, in the Farmer-Chetham MS., ed. Grossart, Camden Soc., 1873, II, 186, as 'An Epitaph on a younge childe', and this MS., judging at least by much of its contents, seems to belong before the death of the prince.

As an interesting fact, but one which has no bearing on the preceding argument, it may be pointed out that the opening lines of (a) are apparently imitated in an epitaph, if the term be suitable, that occurs in *Add.* 18044, 72 verso, and elsewhere.

Of verulam.

Reader wonder thinke itt then
Citties should thus die like men
and yet wonder thinke itt none
many Citties thus are gone.

These lines form the concluding portion of an epitaph on 'this forgotten' city by a 'namelesse late writer', printed in full in Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, 1631, 4. The author took his inspiration from Lucian's 'Charon', see Fowler's translation of Lucian, I, 182—3.

Stay thy foot that passest by,
Here is wonder to descry,
Churches that interr'd the dead,
Here themselves are sepulchred:
Houses, where men slept and wak't,
Here in ashes under-rak't.
In a word to allude;
Here is corne where once Troy stood;
Or more fully home to have
Here's a Citie in a grave.
Reader wonder, etc.

The opening lines of an epitaph on Francis Quarles by Thomas Philipot, *Poems*, 1646, 36, also show the influence of (a):

Reader, this Tombe is put in trust,
To keep a heap of learned dust,

and the following poem by Thomas Jordan (*Royal Arbor*, 1664, 71; cf. also his *Divinity and Morality*, n. d.) is an expansion of (b):

An Epitaph on a Childe.

Ladies that are young and wise
 Shall I tell you of a prize,
 Here a box of beauty lies.

A Jewel hid from vulgar view,
 Whose excellency if you knew,
 Your eyes would drop like morning dew.

Dame Nature's Diamond which when
 She saw it was too high for men,
 Shew'd it, and shut it up agen.

E. Did Jonson write *Underwoods* xl?

For some time I have wondered whether *Underwoods* 40 was written by its reputed author. In style it is like little else of Jonson's. Certainly he could be when he chose as light and airy and tripping in his measures as heart could wish; few poets have displayed greater ease and fluency and charm of fancy than are shown in parts of *The Celebration of Charis* and in some of the lyrics. For all that, the fact remains that the particular grace possessed by the lines in question is of another school, although a school that owed no doubt much to the man whose influence so few seventeenth-century poets can have entirely escaped. Where in Jonson's verse, outside of *Underwoods* 40, shall we find lines so strikingly of the same texture as Lovelace's *To Lucasta. Going to the Warres*? It is not a matter of comparative excellence that comes into consideration, for Jonson has numerous poems quite as good as *Underwoods* 40 and not a few that are much better. He has none, however, in which we catch that indefinable accent that for a brief interval was possessed by a small group of seventeenth-century poets and that passed away so quickly and, alas, with such apparent finality from English verse. Something not unlike it one notes occasionally in lines like Goldsmith's 'When lovely woman stoops to folly', or Landor's *Rose Aylmer*, but again with a quality that marks them as after all of another and a different age.

I should not, however, have raised on these grounds alone the question of Jonson's authorship, for so purely individual a judgment can have little value except possibly as con-

firmatory of other evidence less open to cavil. But when in *MS. Harl.* 6917 I came upon a copy of this poem ascribed not to Jonson but to Godolphin, it seemed that the question might profitably be looked into. Accordingly I examined the few extant poems of Godolphin as printed in the second volume of Saintsbury's *Caroline Poets*, and found to my surprise that Saintsbury had printed this poem on p. 261 without, so far as one can tell from the introduction or the notes, realizing that the lines had ever before appeared in print or that so great a man as Jonson had any sort of claim to them.

What is the evidence for Jonson's authorship? The inclusion of the poem in the Folio of 1640. I confess to a very much higher opinion of the textual authority of this volume than was entertained by Gifford or than seems to be generally entertained today. It is the fashion for instance among editors of Donne to deprive Jonson of *Underwoods* 58 and to treat its appearance in the Folio as accidental and — well, quite negligible. But to my mind the inclusion of these two poems in that volume is very strong evidence that they were both written by Jonson.

What is the evidence for Godolphin's authorship? In the first place, the fact that the only known MS. copy of the piece definitely asserts his authorship, and that the same MS. contains other poems attributed to him. In the second place, that the poem is so much like other work of his that we experience no difficulty in thinking of him as its author. It is not necessary to give many samples of his verse here, for Saintsbury's *Caroline Poets* is ready to every one's hand, Nevertheless a stanza or two from one of the poems called *Quatrains* (Saintsbury, II, 245) will not be out of place.

No more unto my thoughts appear,
At least appear less fair,
For crazy tempers justly fear
The goodness of the air.

Whilst your pure image hath a place
In my impurer mind,
Your very shadow is the glass
Where my defects I find.

.
 Though poorer in desert I make
 Myself, whilst I admire,
 The fuel which from Hope I take
 I give to my Desire.

If this flame lighted from your ayes
 The subject do calcine,
 A heart may be your sacrifice
 Too weak to be your shrine.

It should be said too that the poem exhibits certain imperfections of phrasing and metre quite like those that we observe in other pieces of his, and that the opening lines

 your beauties move
 My heart to a respect,

are echoed in a poem on the page preceding, ll. 24—5,

And so thou maist beguile
 My hart perhaps to a { consent
 respect.

So far as I know there is no other evidence bearing on the question. A decision is difficult to come to. If the poem is Godolphin's, how did it get among Jonson's papers? The case is not like that of *Underwoods* 58. For myself, I believe that Jonson wrote that poem, but at the same time it is easy to understand how, if Donne were the author, it might come into Jonson's possession. But we do not know that Godolphin and Jonson were more than acquainted. The only association of their names lies in the fact that both occur in Suckling's *Session of the Poets* and that Wood (ed. Bliss, III, 47) says that Godolphin was 'much respected' by Jonson. Nor is the piece of such distinguished merit that we can fancy Jonson as particularly desirous of obtaining a copy. It is clear that the balance of evidence is much in Jonson's favor.

Attention should be called to the variant readings and to the carelessness with which Saintsbury has printed his text.

The MS. differs from the Folio as follow's: Title] A sonnet
 1 Faire friend] Madam 10 beauties take 12 my thoughts
 feele th' Influence 18 valews 29 could 31 dares 32 † Go-
 dolphin. Saintsbury has these variations, but introduces several
 others: 5 free] sure 11 price] pride (MS. *spells* prize) 25
 grace] grate 27 face] fate 32 † S. Godolphin. Very amu-
 singly he proceeds gravely to explain 'grate' in line 25 as
 'result of grating', 'particle', 'scrap'!

LONDON, 1914.

WILLIAM DINSMORE BRIGGS.

STUDIES IN BEN JONSON.

IV.

Notes on the Canon of Jonson's Minor Pieces.

In the following pages my aim has been to compile a serviceable list of the various pieces in Jonson that have been or can be for any reason considered doubtful, as well as of pieces not printed in his works but that may be ascribed to him on any grounds, together with such literary projects as he seems at various times to have entertained. The list does not deal with the plays or masques. I do not for an instant suppose that it is complete, but it is sufficiently extensive to be of some practical use. Several pieces I have already briefly discussed, and they are not included. For one or two trifles in *Harl.* 4955 unnoticed by Gifford and Cunningham, see the first article in this series. For two poems in the 12mo of 1640 and for one assigned to Jonson in *Harl.* 6057, see the second article. For *Und.* xl and for the *Epitaph on Prince Henry*, see the third. With the problem of *Und.* lvii I hope to deal separately.

A. Pieces printed or otherwise noticed in Cunningham's nine-volume re-issue of Gifford in 1875. All my references are to this edition.

1. *Epig.* v. In *Add.* 15227, f. 8 verso, a slightly different version is ascribed to 'Th: Walkington'. This ascription must have been due to a misunderstanding, for it is hardly likely that Walkington, who was a minister of repute in his day (see *N. D. B.*), should have claimed Jonson's epigram. We know, however, that he wrote Latin epigrams himself, for he says so in his *Optick Glasse of Humors*, 1639, sig. A₂; it is then

quite possible that he may have translated Jonson's lines, and so have associated his name with them. Grierson, *Donne's Poetical Works*, 1912, II, cx, notes that a MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, ascribes this epigram to James I.

2. *Epig.* xiii. This occurs in Hazlitt's edition of Randolph, 1875, II, 655. Hazlitt notes: "This and the following short piece are not in the printed copies. They occur in the Scattergood MS. referred to elsewhere. They are both worthy of Randolph's wit." The 'Scattergood MS.' was in Huth's library. Hazlitt did not realize that the epigram was Jonson's.

3. *For.* v. Hazlitt, *Poems of Carew*, Roxb. Club, 1870, p. 157, prints this from Cotgrave's *Wit's Interpreter*, 1655, where it occurs p. 141. Apparently, though he does not say, he does so because of the use of the name 'Celia'. In *Wit's Interpreter* the poem is not ascribed. Ebsworth, *Poems of Carew*, 1893, 89, also prints it, and in his note, p. 238, expresses his desire to see evidence in support of the ascription, for he thinks that the poem is worthy of Carew! Vincent, in his *Muses' Library* edition of Carew, 1898, drops the piece, having recognized its authorship (see his note, p. 178).

3*. *For.* ix. In *Sl.* 1446, f. 54 verso, this poem is given with the initials 'B. J.' at end. These are, however, crossed out and in a later hand and ink 'Mr. Cary' (i. e. Carew) is substituted.

4. *For.* xv. According to Bell (see his ed. of Jonson's *Poems*, p. 118), Leigh Hunt in a manuscript note expressed the suspicion that "the verses look more like Donne's than" Jonson's.

5. *Und.* vi. *Stowe* 961, f. 69 verso, contains this, ascribing it by implication to Donne, as the MS. seems to be chiefly a collection of Donne's pieces. Only a few of them, however, are initialled, and the MS. contains a number of other poems that are not Donne's. In the case of a MS. of this kind, it is not always easy to tell whether the compiler meant to ascribe a given poem to the man whose pieces dominate the collection. The O'Flaherty MS. of Donne (see Grierson, *ibid.*, II, xcix, note 1) also gives this poem to Donne. Grierson does not say whether the poems contained in it are initialled or ascribed otherwise than by implication.

6. *Und.* xv. With regard to this see Bullen's article on William Browne in *D. N. B.*

7. *Und.* xvii. The evidence for Jonson's authorship is that, according to Whalley, who first included it among his works, "Tradition hath generally fixed on Jonson as the author of this Epitaph, nor is it unworthy of his genius, or the friendship between him and Drayton, or unlike the stile and spirit of his smaller poems". On the other hand, *MS. Ashmole* 38, f. 184, gives it to Randolph; it is printed in *Poems by Francis Beaumont*, 1653, sig. M₂ (not in ed. 1640); Aubrey assigns it to Francis Quarles (*Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, 1898, I, 240); there is I believe no MS. evidence attributing it to Jonson. It cannot of course be by Beaumont, who died in 1616. Aubrey's evidence is unusually strong, for he says that he got the information from Marshall, who, he asserts, was a great friend of Quarles and who cut the monument erected to Drayton by the Countess of Dorset, and presumably the inscription on it, which, Aubrey tells us, was given by the countess. Now the Countess of Dorset was Quarles' patroness and "deeply sympathised with Quarles's religious bent" (Sidney Lee, *D. N. B.*, s. v. Quarles); Quarles dedicated two works to her in 1632 and 1638, and in 1639 her husband obtained for him the post of city chronologer. It would then have been quite natural for her to turn to him for an epitaph. Moreover, Aubrey is corroborated as to his statement regarding the actual burial-place of Drayton by excellent testimony (see Elton, *Michael Drayton*, 1905, 145—6). Thus his story hangs admirably together. Lee assigns the epitaph to Quarles without discussion. So Grosart, *Quarles' Works*, 1880, I, lviii (mentioning, however, Aubrey's evidence). Hazlitt in his ed. of Randolph, 1875, does not seem to notice it, nor does Kottas, in his *Thomas Randolph (Wiener Beiträge)*, 1909). I have not traced the tradition Whalley speaks of earlier than Winstanley, *Lives of the Poets*, 1687, 107.

8. *Und.* xix. This piece, reprinted by Cunningham (IX, 346) apparently through an oversight, was taken from *Cinthias Revenge*, 1613, which Hazlitt (*Bibl. Coll.*, 2nd Ser., 1882, s. v. Swallow) showed pretty clearly to have been written by John Swallow, rather than John Stephens, to whom it has been

frequently assigned. The lines are simply a wire-drawn expansion of *Epig. i*, applied to the fact that (cf. line 4) the name of the author of the play is concealed (contrary to Cunningham, no name appears on the title-page, at least in the B. M. copy). It is true that Jonson often repeated himself (I hope eventually to examine his practice in detail), but not in this jejune fashion. Where elsewhere in Jonson can we find a ten-line poem so empty of thought, so purely verbal in its ingenuity, and so thoroughly opposed to his well-known principles of style? The evidence in favor of his authorship, aside from the use of *Epig. i*, which of course had not then been printed, is that his initials 'B. J.' are appended, but the case seems clearly to be one in which we may profitably bear in mind the warning given by Cartwright in a poem on Fletcher (*Works*, 1651, 273):

Nor hadst thou the sly trick, thy self to praise
Under thy friends names, or to purchase Bayes
Didst write stale commendations to thy Book,
Which we for Beaumont's or Ben Jonson's took.

On the other hand, if the initials 'F. C.' appended to a commendatory couplet in the volume of 1613 really stand for 'Francis Crane' (Hazlitt, *ibid.*) and this Francis Crane be really the 'perfect friend' to whom Jonson gave a copy of his *Sejanus*, the case for B. J. = Ben Jonson is strengthened.

9. *Und. xxi*. In his note on this poem Gifford prints a Latin piece, which, he says, comes from the 2nd ed. of May's continuation of Lucan, 1640, and he thinks it to be by Jonson, "though the foreign press has copied his name incorrectly". The facts are as follows. May's continuation of Lucan was first printed in English in 1630 and again in 1633, in both cases without any congratulatory verses, according to the copies in the British Museum. May's Latin translation of his continuation was printed in Holland in 1640, and it is in the first edition of the Latin that the lines occur, signed 'S. Jonson'. This was three years after Jonson's death. Moreover, in the second edition of the Latin, printed (probably in London, though the evidence is not absolutely conclusive) during May's lifetime in 1646, these lines are still signed 'S. Jonson'. May would hardly allow such a blunder to pass uncorrected.

10. *Und.* xxxvii. In *Add.* 18220, f. 103, is a poem entitled: 'L^d Buckhursts Rodomandado upon his Mistris.' This consists of a somewhat different version of the last eight lines of the poem in *Und.* At the end is: 'Comunic: a M^r Sam: Naylour Aug: 14. 1672.' This Lord Buckhurst is probably Richard Sackville, 5th Earl of Dorset, who wrote an elegy on Jonson in *Jonsonus Virbius*. Ebsworth, *Poems of Carew*, 1893, 220, in a note on a song by Carew, says: "There may have been some faint remembrance of this 'Seek not to know my Love' when the author of 'A Rhodomontade on his Cruel Mistress' wrote the following epigram. It well describes Lucy, the Countess of Carlisle. In Ashmole MS. 38, art. 237, it begins, 'Ask not to know'." He then quotes, but without giving his source (probably *Westminster Drollery*, see his edition, 1875, 14), a version differing in two or three minor points from the one assigned to Buckhurst. Apparently he had no suspicion of the author. In Jonson, it will be observed, the piece is an integral part of a longer poem, a fact which should in itself settle the question of authorship, if there were any real question (I have not seen the Ashmole version). *Und.* xxxviii is a parallel to this. Gifford suspected both to be by Donne, and Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, I, 326, asserts what Gifford suspected.

11. *Und.* xcvi. This is printed in *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, 1651, 521, with the initials 'H. W.' It is entitled: 'An Ode to the King, at his Returning from Scotland to the Queen: after his coronation there.' Sidney Lee, *D. N. B.* s. v. Wotton, accepts it as belonging to the 'fully authenticated verse' of Wotton, and does not notice its occurrence in Jonson. So Pearsall-Smith, *Life and Letters of Wotton*, 1907, II, 416. Hannah, however, had discussed the authorship of Jonson (*Poems by Wotton*, etc., 1845, 21 ff.), inclining to discredit it because a) The Folio of 1640 lacks authority; b) two MSS. (admittedly not before 1647: MSS. *Tann.* 465, f. 61 verso, *Rawl. Poet.* 147, 96) ascribe it to Wotton; c) "Some of the phrases in this Poem are characteristic of Wotton's style"; d) in 1633 (the date of the king's return) Wotton wrote a Latin tract entitled 'Ad Regem e Scotia reducem Henrici Wottonii plausus et vota'. In rebuttal it may be said: a) It suited Gifford's

book to declare that the Folio was untrustworthy, and since his day students have assumed that he was right. But was he? No doubt the Folio was not as carefully printed as it should have been, and the proof-reading was bad. But the fact that the proof-reading was bad and the printer careless does not prove that the material contained in the volume was improperly gathered together. There is not a single poem in the collection that can be conclusively shown to belong to any other writer than Jonson. There are several poems that may very properly be suspected, but as yet nothing more than strong suspicion attaches to any of them. That the Folio is untrustworthy from the point of view of its canon has yet to be proved, and should not be adduced as an argument in this connection. b) Admittedly these MSS. are late, and Hannah himself in another place (p. xiii) shows that poems have been erroneously ascribed to Wotton and that Archbishop Sancroft (upon whose authority one of the above MS. attributions rests) wrongly assigns him a poem that is clearly Carew's. c) Under this head Hannah does little more, it seems to me, than show that the words contained in this poem were not necessarily foreign to Wotton's vocabulary. Will anyone assert that they were foreign to Jonson's? His most striking parallel is one in which in a letter of 1628 Wotton speaks of revisiting "the Fancies of my Youth, which my judgement tells me, are all too green, and my Glass tells me, that my self am gray". d) The similarity of the titles is significant only if we assume that the title of the poem correctly describes it. One thing seems clear, namely, that the Folio title, 'On the King's Birthday', suits the poem better than does the other. If the poet were writing on the king's return, should we not expect him to make some recognizable allusion to it, as is done by others who wrote poems on the same event, e. g. Corbet and King? Doesn't the poem read much better as a birth-day song than in the other connection? Hannah refuses (p. 19) to see anything specially significant as to authorship in the reference to 'roses and lilies'. But compare from *Und.* lxxii, 'The bed of the chaste lily and the rose'; from *Und.* xxvii, 'Again hath brought the lily to the rose; from *Und.* xcix, 'Her rose and lily intertwined, have made'. It was a favorite allusion of Jonson, and occurs again in *Und.* xciii, in *The Fortunate*

Isles, and in *Love's Triumph*. Still more significant, compare ll. 16—18 with the following passages.

Epig. xxxv.

Who would not be thy subject, James, t'obey
A Prince that rules by example more than sway?

Und. lxxxv.

When you that reign are her example grown,
And what are bounds to her, you make your own.

A Panegyre, etc.

That kings, by their example, more do sway
Than by their power; and men do more obey
When they are led, than when they are compelled.

Other instances of the same idea are to be found in *Part of the King's Entertainment*. VI, 409:

Praeceptis alii populos, multaque fatigant
Lege; sed exemplo nos rapit ille suo,

and in *The Hue and Cry after Cupid*, VII, 94:

A prince that draws
By example more, than others do by laws.

The same idea is to be found in the last speech of Cynthia in *Cynthia's Revels* and in the *Masque of Oberon*.

12. *Und.* ci, *Eupheme*, nos. 3 and 4. Both of these are given in *Ashmole* 38, f. 5, and at the end of no. 4 stands 'Geo. Chapman'. They were assigned to Daniel in a MS. at one time in the possession of Sir John Simeon (see Philobiblon Soc., *Miscellanies*, Vol. ii, *Inedited Poems of Daniel*).

13. *Und.*, *Translations*, *The Praises of a Country Life*. This occurs in *Poems of Francis Beaumont*, 1653, sig. N₇, but this collection has of course no authority whatever.

14. Translation of Ovid, *Amores*, I, El. 15, see II, 376. A satisfactory discussion of the problem as to whether Marlowe or Jonson was the author of this translation is to be found in H. S. Mallory's edition of *The Poetaster*, 1905, xcvi ff. In addition, however, note the fact that Winstanley in his *Muses' Cabinet*, 1655, prints a version differing somewhat from both Marlowe and Jonson. From the titlepage and from the de-

dication it is clear that he claims all of the poems in this volume, and J. Vaughan, who wrote commendatory lines, assumes that all are his.

14*. The song of Amorphus, in *Cynthia's Revels*, on his mistress's glove, is attributed in *Rawl. Poet.* 142, f. 45 verso, to John Guthrie (or Guthie).

15. If I freely may discover. This song from *The Poetaster* is given in *Stowe* 961, f. 79 verso, cf. above no. 5. It was also assigned to Donne apparently in a MS. at one time belonging to Sir John Simeon, see Philobiblon Soc, *Miscellanies*, vol. iii, *Unpublished Poems of Donne*, p. 7, where he notes that this MS. attributes other poems of Jonson to Donne, though he does not specify them. He does not say whether the poems are signed or initialled, or whether the attribution to Donne is simply by implication. The point is of importance in determining MS. attributions, whatever importance we may or may not attach to the attributions themselves. It is also assigned to Donne in the O'Flaherty MS., see Grierson, *u. s.*, II, xcix, note 1.

16. A Fragment of one of the lost quaternions of *Eupheme*, IX, 341. This was first brought forward by H. A. B[right], *N. & Q.*, 1st Ser., III, 367, who asserted that it was in Jonson's hand together with other poems in the collection undoubtedly Jonson's. It was easy to show that the piece was merely a fragment of the poem usually attributed to Beaumont and entitled *An Elegy on the Lady Markham*. This exists in several MS. copies in the British Museum, in some of which it is assigned to Beaumont, and also in *Poems by Beaumont*, 1640 and 1653. Not all of these copies agree in details, some being longer than others, but substantially the poem is the same in all. Whoever wrote the fragment must have written the whole poem. There is no evidence connecting the whole poem with Jonson. On further investigation it turned out that the fragment was not in Jonson's hand (see G. F. Warner's verdict on the papers from which it was taken in H. A. Bright's *Poems from Sir Kenelm Digby's Papers*, Roxb. Club, 1877). This fact did not lead Mr. Bright to abandon his case, but the points he brings forward are not of serious import (*ibid.*, 29—31). There seems to be no particular evidence for the

'intimacy' between Jonson and Randolph (cf. preface to Hazlitt's edition of Randolph), and the fact that a part of an elegy on the Lady Markham should have got among elegies on Lady Digby does not even bring the question into court. As I said above, the authorship of the fragment is bound up with that of the poem as a whole. Conceivably Beaumont may not have written the elegy, but we have no reason for supposing that Jonson did. The whole poem, unasccribed, occurs in *Eg.* 2230, f. 3 verso. At the head in the margin stand the words: 'Elegie: B L R'. Do these initials mean 'Bess Lady Rutland'? The point is of some interest, for the poem immediately following in the MS., likewise unasccribed, is Beaumont's elegy upon that lady. Now, in the margin opposite the beginning of this second poem is the word 'istesso'. This probably, though not certainly means, 'on the same subject' (perhaps 'by the same author'), and tends to confirm the interpretation of 'B. L. R.' above. The MS. was got together c. 1638 or earlier, if we may trust the inscription in a different hand on the fly-leaf (E libris Richardo Glovero. pharmacopol. Londiniensi pertinentibus 1638). It is then possible to infer that in or before 1638 this piece was thought by some to have been written on the daughter of Sidney, not on the Lady Markham.

17. Answer to Wither's *Wasting in Despair*, IX, 342. The authenticity of this piece was doubted by Gifford (I, cxxiv, note), but there seems no good reason for his scepticism. The piece was apparently first noticed by Whalley in a MS. note in *Athenae Oxonienses* (cf. ed. Bliss, 1811, II, 616, note 3). Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, I, 313, notes the S. R. entry, June 14, 1618, of a *Discourse of Love or songes sonettes and Elegies, betwixt Withers and Johnson*, which must be the same volume.

18. To my Detractor, IX, 32 (a better, though still imperfect copy, p. 346). Although Gifford believed that these lines were not written by Jonson, but merely on his behalf, yet the evidence seems fairly complete. They are quite in the style of the verses on Gill and on Inigo Jones. They are given as Jonson's in 4to and 12mo of 1640, in *Harl.* 4955, f. 173 verso, and in *Ashmole* 38, f. 82.

19. From *The New English Canaan*, IX, 347. Cunningham is wrong in dating this work 1627, for there was only edition

(in 1637, see the Rev. B. F. De Costa's broadsheet, dated 1890? in B. M. catalogue). The piece seems to have been first referred to by Lowndes, according to Hunter's *Chorus Vatum*, *MS. Add.* 24490, 129. It is probably not by Jonson, see C. F. Adam's ed. of *The New English Canaan*, Prince Soc., 1883, 290, note. His conclusion seems quite reasonable: 'Morton, it appears to me, abandoning, at the sixth line, the paraphrase with which he began [i. e. of *Epig. cxxxiii*], went on with a production of his own, but very properly put Jonson's name opposite the lines he borrowed from him. The remainder is in his own style, and not inferior to the mass of the contemporary verse." There is plenty of other verse in the volume by which to judge of Morton's 'poetical geny', and we know nothing of any connection between him and Jonson. On the other hand, the repetitions are in themselves no argument whatever against his authorship, as everyone who knows him well will realize. Moreover, as according to *D. N. B.*, s. v. Thomas Morton, the book was entered S. R. 1634, the dates need not give any trouble. He would have taken the greatest pleasure in writing on such a theme.

20. *Expostulation with Inigo Jones*, VIII, 109. Gifford thought Jonson only partly responsible for this piece.

21. *The Ghyrlond of the Blessed Virgin Marie*, IX, 350. Cunningham doubts whether these verses are Jonson's and they certainly do not sound like him. At the same time they bear his initials, and in the same volume is a panegyric on the Virgin signed 'T. M.' (Thomas May?). The book was dedicated to Lady Theophila Coke, as was also Stafford's *Day of Salvation*, 1635. She was the wife of the eldest son of Sir Edward Coke, on whom Jonson has a poem (*Und.* lxiv). At present it seems impossible to establish a closer connection between Stafford and Jonson.

22. Cock Lorrel stanzas, IX, 352. These are probably not Jonson's. In the first place, this is precisely the sort of song to which unauthorized additions would readily be made. In the second, these stanzas do not occur in any of the numerous MS. or printed copies of the song that I have seen except in the *Percy MS.* In the third, although we know that Jonson altered or revised the *Masque of Gipsies* for

various performances, yet none of the extant versions contains a trace of them, and there was apparently no hint of them in the autograph copy from which Gifford took his text. And finally they are not so good as the rest of the song; they extend it, but in no sense improve it. It stood in no need of extension.

23. A second epigram on the Green Cloth. According to the lines in Eliot's poem quoted in Gifford's note on *Und.* lxxxv, Jonson wrote a second epigram in a somewhat milder strain than that of the one preserved. Nothing is known of it otherwise.

24. Pieces known from the *Coversations with Drummond*, sections I, V, XII, XV, XVI.

- a) He had written a discourse of poesy "against both Campion and Daniel".
- b) He intended to 'perfect' an epic poem called *Heroologia*, of the worthies of this country roused by fame. "It is all in couplets." The words 'perfect' and 'is' indicate that at least a part of this was already in being.

As in section V all of the pieces that we can trace are Jonson's, it is probable that the others are his also. Accordingly we should add to our list, but with a question-mark. —

- c) Parabostes Pariane with his letter.
- d) A Satire of a Lady come from the Bath.
- e) A satire telling that there were no abuses, and detailing all the abuses in England and in the world.
- f) The critical introduction to his translation of the *Ars Poetica*. This translation, twice mentioned in *Conv.*, is referred to in the 1605 preface to *Sejanus* and in the *Execration upon Vulcan*.
- g) A piece of the Punic War given to Raleigh, altered by him, and included in the *History of the World*.
- h) "He imitated the decription of a night from Bonifonius his *Vigilium Veneris*."
- i) *The May Lord*. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, I, 379, attempts to identify this with the *Sad Shepherd*.

- j) He intended to write a "fisher or pastorall play, and sett the stage of it in the Lowmond lake". The statement is somewhat confusing, as a 'fisher' play would be quite different from a pastoral play. No other trace exists of an intention on Jonson's part to write a drama of the first type.
- k) The account of his northern journey. See below, nos. 25, 26. This poem was nearly or quite completed at the time of the fire in his study, as we know from the *Execration on Vulcan*.
- l) A poem of which one line, descriptive of Edinburgh, is preserved by Drummond. Not improbably this was some part of the preceding.
- m) He intended to have made a play like Plautus' *Amphitruo*, but gave up the design.

25. "He seems also to have formed the plan of a Geographical Account, or Present State of Scotland; by which he was supplied by this friend with several materials, whereof some curious ones were sent in a letter to Jonson dated July 1, 1619." (*Biographia Britannica*, 1750, etc., 2792, note ii.) As a matter of fact, however, Jonson seems to have had the intention of using this material in the account of his journey, for the 'book' mentioned in his letter of May 10, 1619 (I, cxii), does not seem to be a different piece. No doubt the poem itself could not have contained all of this matter, but the more unmanageable portions could be exhibited in notes comparable to Selden's notes on Drayton. The precision of Gifford's statement, "The 'Discovery' was to contain the Description of Scotland, with the Episode of his 'Journey thither'", is hardly warranted by the extant evidence. We do not know that the 'journey' was to be merely an 'episode' in the 'description'. It is far more probable that the 'description', if we may use that term, was to be illustrative of the 'journey', a very different thing.

26. Pieces known from the *Execration upon Vulcan*, *Und.* lxi.

- a) "Parcels of a play". Fleay, *u. s.*, connects this with the *May Lord* and the fragmentary *Sad Shepherd*.

- b) Translation of Horace with notes from Aristotle. See above.
- c) An English grammar. How far this differed from the one we have is uncertain.
- d) The journey into Scotland. See above. Probably nearly completed.
- e) The translation of Barclay's *Argenis*. I pointed out in the first article in this series that the reference to the Sicilian maid had been wrongly interpreted. Three books out of five completed.
- f) The history of Henry V. Eight years out of nine completed.
- g) "Twice twelve years stored up humanity". The relation of these notes and observations to the extant *Discoveries* is uncertain.
- h) "Humble gleanings in divinity". We have nothing extant corresponding to these except that the pamphlet of which I discussed the authorship in *Modern Philology*, Oct., 1913, may conceivably come under this head. The notes, however, that Jonson and Pory worked upon in that case were not Jonson's own. See below, no. 65.

27. A poem celebrating Sir Kenelm Digby's victory at Scanderoun. See *Und.* xcvi:

In sign the subject, and the song will live
Which I have vow'd posterity to give.

Whether he actually wrote any portion of such a poem is not known.

28. At end of dedication to Prince Henry of the *Masque of Queens*: "if my fate . . . shall reserve me to the age of your actions, whether in the camp or the council-chamber, that I may write, at nights, the deeds of your days; I will then labour to bring forth some work as worthy of your fame, as my ambition therein is of your pardon."

29. A poem or poems celebrating the ladies of England. See Whalley's note on the latter part of *Forest* xii. Gifford, I, cxix, says that Jonson more than once refers to this, but I do not recall any other passage. It is, however, possible to interpret the lines as referring, not to such a poem as Whalley

surmises, but simply to the various pieces he had written, was writing, and would in the future write in honor of individual women. Among these the poem to Lady Rutland will occupy, he says, the most prominent position. The term, 'strange poems', does not conflict with this interpretation. Jonson is merely echoing Horace and Virgil, and he means that such poems as he writes to noble ladies are of a kind not hitherto to be found in English poetry, a statement that is perfectly true.

30. A collection of poems on Queen Anne. See notes to the *Masque of Queens*: "The name of Bel-anna I devised, to honour hers proper by; as adding to it the attribute of Fair: and is kept by me in all my poems, wherein I mention her Majesty with any shadow or figure. Of which some may come forth with a longer destiny than this age commonly gives to the best births, if but helped to light by her gracious and ripening favour." It is again possible that Jonson is merely referring to his use of the term 'Bel-anna' in his other masques, though that does not seem here the most reasonable interpretation, as one such masque had been already printed.

31. An elegy on Queen Anne. See the letter to Drummond, May 10, 1619 (I, cxiii). It is clear that a portion of this was complete at the time of writing.

32. Lost verse-letter to James Howell. See the letter quoted IX, 501.

33. A poem celebrating the deeds of Charles I. See the last stanza of the ode, "Come leave the loathed stage". Probably nothing of this was written, but that his project was taken more or less seriously appears from the following anonymous poem addressed to him (*Harl.* 6917, f. 100 verso):

To Mr Johnson:

Anacreon, and Homer knew

Parnassus dew,

to be old Graeco fatt and fine

of strength divine,

which when the nine had freely tasted,

not lives, though time and song in mirth they wasted

In praise of Phoebus, by whose fire

Grapes ripend are unto the clownes desire

A greater one by farre
 because a living starre
 hath given thee nectar, that thy vein may runne
 high, when thou writ'st of him our seeing Sunne;
 who had he reigned
 when Gods were feigned,
 Thus farre the Paynims had beene blest,
 he had beene one, and none the rest:

Canary rockes but dreamt of then
 unknowne to men,
 are lately planted for a Juice
 Ben: for thy use;
 Who art to write the lasting story
 of him, who is of happy Isles the glory;
 and yet he wrongs them in their fame,
 the kings before him for him have noe name;
 Be then a Bardh, and lye
 beyond beleefe, or eye,
 write the maides bloud
 as right, as good;
 Trades-men may crowne thy head with bayes
 Such as nought else can blast but praise;
 But tis not in thy power to doe
 ought that can wooe
 the Citty witts; mount up to Jove
 let him approve
 thy starry flight; proclaime his largesse
 Contemne what London gave to buy thee barges;
 drinke Imperiall Sacke, and Scorene
 to write of the may'res horse, or Copia's horne.

It is a fair guess that this composition was addressed to him shortly after the city in 1631 had withdrawn its chandlerly pension for verjuice and mustard. The allusion to the 'maides bloud' is very dark, nor do I quite see the point of the reference to the 'barges'.

34. Prologue to *Henry VIII*. See Gifford, I, ccix. Johnson, Malone, and Farmer suspected that this prologue was written by Jonson (Malone, *Works of Shakespeare*, 1790, I, pt. i, 338 ff.).

It was a strange critical whim that detected in these lines any resemblance to Jonson's style.

35. Jonson and Shakespeare. The *jeu d'esprit* quoted with contemptuous rejection by Gifford, I, lxxvi, note, is found in *Ashmole* 38, f. 181. Compare *The Shakspeare Allusion-Book*, 2nd ed., 1909, II, 3, 68.

36. Townley's verses to Felton. These were at first suspected for Jonson's and he was examined concerning them, cf. I, xii, and also 171; see *Cal. State Pap.*, Dom., 1628—9, 360, Oct. 26, 1628, and also Preface, ix.

37. *His motives*, I, lxxix, note. Wood (ed. Bliss, 1811, II, 615) gives as Jonson's a work with this title, dating it 1622. Gifford thinks a blunder of some sort was committed by Wood. Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, I, 313, thinks that it perhaps had to do with the quarrel with Inigo Jones, and that the date should be 1633. See no. 84 below.

38. For a lost speech of 18 lines, when James and Prince Henry visited Merchant Taylors' Hall, July 16, 1607, see I, lxxxiii, and Nichols, *Prog. of James*, II, 136.

39. Translation, Martial, Ep. X, 47. See G.-Cun., IX, 345. That this is Jonson's hardly admits of doubt. It is, however, signed 'Owen Ep.' in *Harl.* 791, f. 59 verso. This copy varies somewhat, the most important difference being the omission of 11. 7—8.

B. Unnoticed in the nine-volume edition, so far as I am aware, are the following pieces.

40. Inevitable fate to shun. See Prideaux, *N. & Q.*, 9th Ser., vii, 46, who says that these verses were first brought forward by a writer signing himself 'A. F. W.' in Willis's *Current Notes*, Sept. 1851, i, 68. They were found in a hand asserted to be Jonson's on the margin of a page of Underdowne's translation of Heliodorus' *Aethiopian History*, on the title-page of which was Jonson's motto and signature. Prideaux very properly remarks that the lines 'have rather a modern twang'. One or two other remarks should be made in the absence of any present knowledge as to the whereabouts of this volume. What was the writer's competence for determining the handwriting of Jonson? Was the volume really Jonson's?

It should be observed that he gives the signature of Jonson on the title-page as follows: 'Ben Jonson, tanquam explorator'. Now according to all the volumes belonging to Jonson that I have seen, and according to the evidence gathered by Ramsay (*Transactions of the Royal Soc. of Lit.*, New Ser., xxvii, 1908, 144), it was his practice to place the motto at the top or toward the top of the page, and toward the bottom 'Sum B. Jonsonii' or 'Sum Ben Jonsonii Liber', or some similar inscription, occasionally extended. In some books the motto has apparently been cut off by the binder. Hazlitt (*Bibliographer*, vi, 138) mentions a copy of Parker's *Version of the Psalms*, 1560, in which he found the following note: "There was written in this book, but the leaf was by accident torn out, 'This is Ben Jonsons Booke. Price worth Gould'." This evidence is worth little. Possibly Jonson had the book as a boy.

41. Speeches for the Merchant Adventurers, June, 1616. See a letter from Gerard to Carleton, *Cal. State Pap.*, Dom., June 14, 1616: "Dyers, cloth dressers, with their shuttles, and Hamburgians, were presented to the King, 'and spake such language as Ben Jonson putt in theyre mouthes'."

42. Latin lines in Farnaby's *Seneca*, 1613. See Buckley, *N. & Q.*, 6th Ser., ii, 386.

43. *The Goodwife's Ale*. First noted by Hunter, Chorus Vatum MS., *Add.* 24491, f. 42. Published and ascribed to Jonson by Dobell, *Athenaeum*, 1904, Oct. 1, 447, from a MS. which has now, I believe, gone to the United States. In a later article (*ibid.*, Oct. 15, 517) he speaks of its occurrence elsewhere. Combining his studies with my own, we get the following results. Three British Museum MSS., *Eg.* 2421, f. 2, *Harl.* 6931, f. 12, and *Sl.* 396, f. 3, ascribe it to Jonson, making four altogether. In *Add.* 30982, f. 158, and *Sl.* 1792, f. 94, it is unasccribed. *Ashmole* 38, f. 13, ascribes to 'Th. Jay', and *Ashmole* 47, f. 92, to 'T. K.'. It is also to be found among the 'Fancies' in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th editions of *Wits Recreations*, 1641, 1645, 1650, sigs. Y₅, Z₄, Z₈, respectively (but few if any of the poems in this work are assigned). Finally it is printed in *Poems of Beaumont*, 1653, sig. M₃. A comparison of the variant readings shows some interesting results, but nothing that, so far as I can see at present, bears on the question of authorship.

44. Epitaph on Mistress Boulstred. First brought forward by J. A. Harper, *N. & Q.*, 3rd Ser., iv, 198. See Grosart's edition of the Dr. Farmer-Chetham MS., Chetham Soc., 1873, II, 190. They are in that MS. signed 'B. I.'. They occur unasccribed in a number of MSS. in the British Museum, and Grierson, *Donne's Poetical Works*, 1912, II, 213, quotes a version from a MS. in Bridgewater House. He also says: "Mr. Percy Simpson tells me that a letter is extant from Jonson to George Gerrard which indicates that the epitaph was written by Jonson while Gerrard's man waited at the door." This cryptic utterance is, I suppose, based on the summary of the letter in Hist. MSS. Commission Report II, 1871, p. 79. For a MS. attribution of this to Donne, see *ibid.*, II, xcix, note 2.

45. To Mrs. Alice Sutcliffe, On her Divine Meditations. First mentioned by Hunter, Chorus Vatum MS., *Add.* 24491, f. 33.

46. Lines prefixed to Thomas Palmer's *Sprite of Trees & Herbes*, MS. *Add.* 18040. First noticed by Hunter, *u. s.*, cf. also *Add.* 24489, f. 307. This work has never, I believe, been published, nor have Jonson's lines been printed. There is no title.

When late (grave Palmer) those thy grafts & flowers
 (so well dispos'd by thy auspicious hand)
 weare made the objects to my weaker powers;
 I could not but in admiracion stand.
 ffirst: thy successe did strike my sence wth wonder;
 that mongst so manie plants transplanted hether,
 not one but thrives; in spite of stormes & thunder
 unseason'd ffrosts, or the most envious weather.
 Then I admir'd, the rare and prescious use
 thy skill hath made of ranck dispised weedes;
 whilst other soules convert to base abuse
 the sweetest simples, and most soveraigne seedes:
 Next, that w^{ch} rapt mee, was: I might behold
 how lyke the Carbuncle in Aaron's brest
 the seaven-fold flower of Arte (more rich then gold)
 did sparcle foorth in Center of the rest:
 thus, as a ponderous thinge in water cast
 extendeth circles into infinits,
 still makinge that the greatest y^t is last

till th'one hath drownd the other in *our* sights
 So in my brayne; the stronge impression
 of thy rich labors worlds of thoughts created
 w^{ch} thoughts beinge circunvold in gyerlyk mocion
 wear spent wth wonder as they weare delated
 till giddie wth amazement I fell downe
 in a deepe traunce; - - - - -

- - - - - When loe to crowne thy woorth
 I struggled wth this passion that did drowne
 my abler faculties; and thus brake foorth

Palmer thy travayles well becn thy name
 And thou in them shalt live as longe as Fame

Ben: Jhonson. gent

Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori.

I have expanded two or three contractions and omitted one or two pen flourishes that could not be here reproduced. The MS., which was prepared for presentation to Burleigh but was presented to Robert Cecil on account of the former's death, consists of a collection of emblems, whose character is sufficiently explained by the title. There are preliminary verses by Thomas ffryer, doctor of Phisicke, Richardus Fosterus medicinae doctor, Nicholas Rosecarrot gentleman, Jo. Keeper gentleman, Mic. Draiton, and a Carmen ἐν κοινῇ [sic] Nicolai Hilli philosophi Thaliæ personantis. Hunter identifies Palmer with Sir Thomas Palmer who wrote on travelling (see *D.N.B.*) but Simpson, *N. & Q.*, 9th Ser., v, 338, points out that the author of the emblems was a Catholic, and explains on that ground the failure of Jonson to include these verses in the Folio. In the address to Cecil Palmer speaks of his 'olde & decrepite age'. He alludes also to the fact that on the preceding New Year's he had presented Burleigh with a hundred emblems, and in the original Latin adress to Burleigh he thanks him repeatedly for the protection the latter had extended to him, whereby he had been enabled to pass his days in peace. To Burleigh he owes peace and tranquillity of mind, and freedom from cares, etc. See *D.N.B.* at the end of the above article for an account of a Catholic Thomas Palmer, who is probably the man. Was he the 'Tho. Palmerus Equ.' who died at Valladolid in 1603? See Joannis Stradlingi Epigrammatum Libri Quatuor, 1607, p. 148.

47. Fragment of the journey to Scotland. A piece of doggerel is extracted by Curry, *N. & Q.*, 9th Ser., v, 231—2, from *Chorographia, or A Survey of Newcastle Upon Tine*, 1649. That Jonson may have thrown off a skit of this kind is quite possible. That it is to be seriously regarded as a fragment of the account of his northern journey we need hardly suppose.

48. That Jonson may have been the author of the piece just mentioned is perhaps rendered somewhat more probable by the fact that we find a somewhat similar piece attributed to him in Bridges' *History of Northamptonshire*, 1791, II, 320 (whence taken I have not learned): see also Sir E. Brydges' *Memoirs of King James' Peers*, 1802, 73—4. Speaking of the ruins of an old chapel adjacent to Zouch Manor House, Bridges says: "At the bottom of the north wall is a small hole communicating with the cellar of the house, which, according to tradition, gave occasion to the following verses of Ben Jonson, who is said to have been well acquainted with lord Zouche:

Whenever I dye, let this be my fate,
To lye by my good Lord Zouche;
That when I'm a-dry, to the tap I may hie,
And so back again to my Couch."

D.N.B., s. v. Zouche, accepts this as Jonson's without question.

49. Lost lines on Buckingham. Curry, *N. & Q.*, 9th Ser., vi, 431, quotes an extract from Vaughan's *History of England*, 1840, 204, who refers on the authority of Raumer's extracts from the letters of Tillieres, French Ambassador to England, to lines of Jonson written in praise of the marchioness of Buckingham and read aloud by James in open court in 1621. These verses, Curry thinks, must have been lost. The passage from Raumer, *Briefe aus Paris*, 1831, II, 316—7 (Vaughan used the English translation of this and so was led into one error) runs as follows: After quoting from a letter of Tillieres dated 23 Aug. 1621, he says: "Es scheint jedoch, dafs man von Paris aus auf nähere Mittheilungen drang, und so kommt Tillieres in einem späteren Berichte (ohne Datum) auf dieselben oder ähnliche Gegenstände zurück. Er schreibt: Um dem Hause des Marquis von Buckingham eine Ehre anzutun, beschlofs König Jakob mit Vorsatz über den Durst zu trinken. Als er nun so weit gekommen und voll süfsen Weins war, nahm

er den Prinzen von Wales bei der Hand, führte ihn zu den Herren und Damen und sagte: zwischen ihnen sei ein großer Streit, wer von beiden den Marquis von Buckingham am meisten liebte? Nachdem er allerhand Gründe für und wider aufgezählt hatte, zog er Verse aus der Tasche, die sein Dichter Johnson zum Lobe des Marquis gemacht hatte, dann las er andere von seiner eigenen Erfindung und schwur, er wolle sie an allen Thüren des Hauses anschlagen, um seinen guten Willen zu zeigen." Is it not probable that these verses in praise of the marquis (not the marchioness) are those to be found in the fortune told to the marchioness in the *Masque of Gipsies*? This masque was presented at the same place and in the same month and year. Why look elsewhere for them?

50. Epitaph on Sir Henry Goodyere. This epitaph, found in Camden's *Remain's*, 1614, 377 (also in ed. 1605, p. 55 of the section entitled 'Certaine Poemes', etc.), was ascribed to Jonson by Curry, *N. & Q.*, 9th Ser., vi, 431. It is sufficiently dealt with by Simpson, *ibid.*, vi, 477; vii, 151—2. It should be noticed that Gifford had confused the two Sir Henries in his note on *Epig.* lxxxv, though he did not ascribe the epitaph to Jonson, and that Grierson, *Donne's Works*, 1912, II, 145, has made the same mistake.

51. Epitaph on Hemmings. Grierson, *u. s.*, I, 443, prints the following lines from a MS. that he calls the *Burley MS.*:

Epi: B: Jo:

Tell me who can when a player dies
In w^{ch} of his shapes againe hee shall rise?
What need hee stand at the iudgment throne
Who hath a heaven and a hell of his owne?

Then feare not Burbage heavens angry rodd,

When thy fellows are angells & old Hemmings is God.

In II, 268, Grierson speaks of this piece as an epitaph on Hemmings. He died in 1630, Burbage in 1619, dates which are inconsistent with the last two lines. May not 'Epi:' stand just as well for 'epigram'? The piece reads more like a merry jest addressed to Burbage than an epitaph written on him or Hemmings. The MS. is no longer in existence, having been recently burned (*ibid.*, II, cxi, note); I have not heard of any other copy. The principal argument against accepting the

lines as Jonson's lies in the fact that one would have expected him to make rather more out of the very promising idea with which he opens.

52. Pieces known from *England's Parnassus* (ed. 1913 by Crawford). This contains three hitherto unidentified extracts assigned to Jonson (nos. 1192, 1287, 1457), in addition to those that have been traced. Of these three, 1192 sounds very much like such moralizing as Jonson would have been sure to indulge in at the end, say, of such a tragedy as the *Richard Crookback* that we know he was at one time engaged upon. No. 1287 also sounds as though it might come from the same play. No. 1457 sounds rather like an extract from a satirical poem than one from a play, closely paralleling as it does the opening lines of *Forest* xii (which as I pointed out in a recent number of *Mod. Lang. Notes* was probably written in the early part of 1601). Such guess-work is, however, profitless; we do not know whether we are dealing with plays or poems. No. 1192 is repeated, as Crawford notes, in Bodenham's *Belvedere*. This latter work is of no value in the present study for the obvious reason that, although Jonson's name is given as one of the writers from whom passages are taken, yet, as no names are appended to the individual extracts, every quotation that we can identify necessarily comes from works that we already know from other sources, while quotations from works that we do not know cannot be ascribed to him.

53. An unknown poem. There is a singular passage in one of Donne's letters, Gosse, *Life of Donne*, 1899, II, 16. The letter is dated July 17, 1613; to whom it is addressed is not known. The passage may refer to something that has disappeared. "I did your commandment with Mr. Johnson; both our interests in him needed not to have been employed in it. There was nothing obnoxious but the very name, and he hath changed that. If upon having read it before to divers, it should be spoken that that person was concerned in it, he sees not how Mr. Holland will be excused in it, for he protests that no hearer but Mr. Holland apprehended it so."

54. A poem beginning 'Censure not sharply then' is assigned to 'B. J.' in a Donne MS. belonging to Captain Harris (Grierson, *u. s.*, II, ci, note). This copy I have not seen, but

a piece with the same beginning, doubtless the same poem, occurs in *Rawl. Poet.* 31, f. 23 verso, unascribed. It is a much altered version of *Und.* lv, 'Sir, I am thankful', etc. There is no title. For ll. 1—18 of *Und.* substitute the following eleven lines:

Censure not sharpelye then, but mee advise
 beffore, I wryte more verse, to bee more wyse,
 Soe ended *your* Epistle, myne beginns
 Hee that soe Censureth, or adviseth synns
 The emptye Carper, scorne, not Creditt wynns,
 I have, wth ffirst advantage of ffree tyme
 Ore Read, examin'd, try'd, and prov'd *your* Ryme
 As Cleare, and distant, as *your* selfe ffrom Cryme;
 And though *your* virtue (as becomes it) still,
 deignes myne the power to ffinde yett want I will
 or Malyce to make ffaults, w^{ch} nowe is skill.

Then follow ll. 19—33 with a few variants.

55. An *Epitaph on Queen Elizabeth* is assigned to B. Johnson in *Rawl. D.* 1092, see *Cat. Rawl. MSS.*, Pars V, Classis D, pars 2, p. 283, no. 1092, f. 267 verso. On examination this turns out to be a copy of *Epig.* cxxiv, 'On Elizabeth, L. H.'.

56. Castelain, Rev. Germanique, 1907, p. 27, suggested, on grounds of style, that Jonson had written the dedication and the address prefixed to the First Folio of Shakespeare. See correspondence in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 1914, Nov. 13, Nov. 20.

57. If shadows be a picture's excellence. This piece is printed in *Pembroke's Poems*, 1660, 61, as by Rudyerd; unascribed in *Parnassus Biceps*, 1656, 75, and *Wit's Interpreter*, 1655, 53. Ascribed to Jonson in *Add.* 21433, f. 109 verso, and *Harl.* 6057, f. 9 verso. Ascribed to Walton Poole in *Harl.* 6931, f. 8 verso and *Sl.* 1446, f. 71 verso (but in the same hand and ink as that which assigns *Forest* ix, q. v., to Carew); to 'W. P.' in *Add.* 11811, f. 33 verso, *Lansd.* 777, f. 71. Unascribed in nine other B. M. MSS. and two *Ashmole* MSS. According to one MS., it was on 'Mrs Poole'; to another, on 'W. Poole's Mistris'; to another, on 'the Lord Shadows sister'; other MSS.,

'on a gentlewoman', 'a black wench', etc. It also occurs in MS. collections of Donne, and in other MSS. than those mentioned, and has been recently printed in Manning's *Memoirs of Rudyerd*, 1841, App., xxxiv; Grosart's *Donne*, 1873, I, 242; Chamber's *Donne*, 1896, II, 267 (cf. 279); Grierson's *Donne*, 1912, I, 460 (cf. II, 269). Noted by Hunter, *Add.* 24491, f. 42, and see Simeon's *Unpublished Poems of Donne*, Philobiblon Soc., *Miscellanies*, vol. III, 19.

58. The heavens rejoice in motion. Gosse, *Life of Donne*, 1899, II, 304, speaks of "Ben Jonson's fine lines, 'The heavens rejoice in motion'". Gosse was led into this mistake apparently by the fact that these lines occur for the first time in the 1650 ed. of Donne just after one of Jonson's epigrams to him. Chambers accepts as Donne's without question, I, 141; cf. Grierson, I, 113, and II, cxlvii. The lines are nowhere ascribed to Jonson.

59. Vatum Chorus pieces in Chester's *Love's Martyr*. For the four pieces undoubtedly Jonson's, see *Forest* x and xi and Gifford's notes. Grosart, p. lvi of his edition of Chester, 1878, says: "Probably Jonson wrote also the 'Chorus Vatum'." On p. 240: "These 'Vatum Chorus' pieces are in good sooth poor enough. They have touches like Chapman at his worst." These pieces, as Halliwell, *Some Account of Chester's Love's Martyr*, 1865, 23, remarks, were "written in the name of all the writers", i. e. Shakespeare, Jonson, Chapman, and Marston.

60. Epitaph upon a Bellows-maker. In the MS. of *Manningham's Diary* (ed. Camden Soc., 1868, 63) these lines have the initials 'B. J.' appended, but in a note the editor says that the initials "are by a more recent hand". The Farmer-Chetham MS. assigns the lines to Hoskins (Grosart's ed., 1873, II, 182). They frequently occur slightly varied without indication of authorship, e. g. *Sl.* 1792, f. 113 verso.

61. God save the King. Cf. Nichols, *Prog. of James*, II, 142—3, note. R. Clark asserted that Jonson composed the words and Dr. John Bull the music on the occasion of no. 38 above (*Account of the National Anthem*, 1822, 87 ff.). This supposition is shown to be groundless in *Gent. Mag.*, xcv, I, 206, where it is pointed out that Bull's air 'God save

the King' bears no resemblance to the other. Cf. *ibid.*, xevi, II, 440.

62. Pieces in Chetwood's *Memoirs of Jonson*, 1756. Of course Gifford mentions Chetwood several times, and in the note on *Und.* xxxiii he expresses his distrust of him in connection with the *Epitaph on Prince Henry*, but he nowhere says anything of the other pieces that Chetwood gives as Jonson's. They have not been reprinted, so I give them here. The chances are a million to one that they are spurious. In any case I have seen no other copies, and I have not been able to trace the *Slips from Parnassus* from which one of them is said to be taken. (I strongly suspect Chetwood of fabrication in respect to a number of the so-called libels on Jonson.)

a) P. 26. "The first Time, it is said, Taylor got him in his Boat, he addressed him thus extempore.

Taylor.

I am told, by my Boy, thou art Jonson the Poet;
If true, an Epigram, quickly, to shew it:
I tell thee I'm Taylor that plies near the Strand,
A Poet by Water, as thou art by Land.

Ben's Answer, without Hesitation.

A Poet by Water can never be fired;
By the Juice of the Grape the Muse is inspired:
Yet thy aiming at Wit deserveth some Praise:
But Water ne'er nourish'd the Laurel or Bays.

Slips from Parnassus.

b) P. 37. "And 'tis supposed Ben was Author of a short Poem called the Scots Piper, a Dialogue between Tom and Dick, wherein are these Lines:

Dick. Doth the Loon [King James] then love Musick?

Tom. Ay, so People say.

Dick. It is not a Wonder, his Father cou'd play:

His Dam was bestraught with his Stick, and his
Fiddle,

And wou'd always be playing at Lantra down
diddle."

c) P. 70. The following was sent him, 'affirmed for Jonson's'.

Epithalamium in Puellam Oxoniensem.

Hic Jacet

Laeta in spe Resurrectionis,

Maria Bird:

Puella eximiae pulchritudinis;

Mirae suavitatis comitatusque;

Nulla venustas animo defuit;

Nullus corpori decor:

Egregia sua sibi sole latuere merita;

Tandem in illius sinum recepta,

Quem maxime concupiverat,

Lubenter naturae persolvens debitum

Placide conquievit.

d) P. 71. This was also sent him, but he is not assured of the authorship.

An Epigram.

A Widow's Lawyer, in his Wine,

As he a Bond was making,

With Know all Women did begin,

The common Form mistaking.

'Hold! you are wrong', the Lady cry'd,

'It should have been all Men, Sir'.

The Lawyer, with a Sneer, reply'd,

And made this merry Answer:

'Madam, the Bond is right and just,

For, if one Woman knows it,

'Tis very plain that all Men must;

For she will soon disclose it'.

63. A grace by Ben Jonson, extempore, before King James. Aubrey gives this, *Brief lives*, ed. Clark, 1898, II, 14. A different and shorter version is also ascribed to Jonson in *Ashmole* 38, f. 117, and *Rawl. Poet.* 160, f. 175. Unassigned versions in *Malone* 19, f. 138 verso and *Rawl. Poet.* 26, f. 1 verso.

64. "Verses by Ben Jonson and Shakespeare, occasioned by the motto to the Globe Theatre." Cf. *Shakspeare Allusion-Book*, ed. 1909, II, 373.

65. In *Modern Philology*, 1913, I pointed out that Jonson was in some way concerned in the composition of a theological pamphlet published in 1630.

66. Chronology of London affairs. Joseph Hunter, in his article on Edmund Bolton, *Add.* 24488, f. 75 verso, speaks of the fact that the City, in Oct., 1632, rejected Bolton's plan of writing the antiquities and history of London for various reasons, among which was the fact that Jonson had "promised them a Chronology of City Affairs for the last four years since Sir Hugh [Hamersley's] Mayoralty". His authority was Bolton's account of the matter in *Harl.* 6521, on f. 248 of which occurs Bolton's statement: "Ben. Jonson had promised at Christmasse next to present them with a chronologie from Sr Hughs Maioraltie, for fowr years". At the same time, on f. 244, in one of his communications to the mayor and aldermen relative to his plan, Bolton names 'Mr Benjamin Jonson', together with Sir Kenelm Digby, Selden, Coke, Wotton, Hugh Holland, Thomas Farnaby, Hamersley, and other 'eminently learned gentlemen', as being acquainted with collections he had made for the purpose and able to guarantee his competence. Strictly speaking, of course, there was no conflict between the two plans. The aldermen simply made use of the one as an excuse to reject the other. The reference to Jonson, whose pension was withdrawn in Dec., 1631, and not restored till Sept., 1634, shows that he was striving to get it back by promising to do the work demanded (cf. Gifford, I, 166).

67. Latin translation of Bacon's *Essays*. Wood speaks of his share in this. His authority was undoubtedly the following passage in Tenison's *Baconiana*, 1679, 60: "His Lordship wrote them in the English Tongue, and enlarged them as Ocasion serv'd, and at last added to them the Colours of Good and Evil, which are likewise found in his Book De Augmentis. The Latine Translation of them was a Work performed by divers Hands: by those of Dr. Hackett (late Bishop of Lichfield) Mr. Benjamin Johnson (the learned and judicious Poet) and some others, whose Names I once heard from Dr. Rawley; but I cannot now recal them." See also Plume's *Life of Hackett*, 1865, 141. Incidentally, I may mention the fact that Hackett was an ardent admirer of

Jonson; in his *Life of Williams* he quotes from him fifteen or sixteen times, and applies to him the most laudatory epithets.

68. King's Poems. Hannah, *Poems of Wotton*, etc., 1845, lx, note, says that in 1700 there was prefixed to the old edition of King's poems a title-page ascribing the volume to Jonson. See also his edition of King's *Poems*, 1843, cxxvi, where he gives the titlepage, and cf. p. lix. I have not seen a copy.

69. *Penkethman's Jest*s, 1721, has Jonson's name on the titlepage as one of the compiler's sources, but nothing in the two volumes in any way relates to him except that vol. ii contains *Cock Lorrel*.

70. *Sport upon Sport: Or the London Frolick. Containing The Running of the Rats in Smithfield Written by Ben. Johnson*. This is merely a collection of vulgar prose anecdotes, printed 1708.

71. *Wits Academy, Or, Six Pennyworth for a Penny: Being Ben Johnson's Last Arrow . . .* 1656. This is a six-page collection of pointless riddles, which I believe are the same with the riddles in *Ben Jonson's Jest*s, but I have not compared them.

72. Anecdotes from *Ben Jonson's Jest*s, 1760, sixth edition (I have not seen one earlier). Pp. 3—6 contain a number of anecdotes; I give only those ascribing bits of verse to him.

a) "Another time the Archbishop sent him an excellent dish of Fish from his table, without any Drink, so he made these verses:

In a Dish came Fish
From the Arch Bish —
Hop was not there,
Because there was no Beer."

This exquisite trifle came to be associated with him at least as early as 1674. Richard Enock, of Trin. Coll. Oxford, apparently knew nothing of Jonson's supposed authorship in 1677, when he inserted it on f. 47 of what is now *Sl.* 1458, under the heading 'Miscellanea for discourse', in this form:

"Mittitur in disco mihi piscis ab archiepisco —
po non ponatur quia potus non mihi datur.

Here in a dish is given a fish by the archbish —
Hop is not here because there is no beer."

Both Latin and English are attributed to Jonson in *Cambridge Jests*, 1674, p. 62. In *MS.* 44, f. 114 verso, in the Dyce collection, the same anecdote is told of Erasmus. *Add.* 15227, f. 22, also contains the lines, but gives no author.

b) "Another time Ben comes into an inn in Southwark in a Country Habit, and gets into the chimney corner; some Gentlemen sitting at a table, thought to have put a Trick upon him; says one, Come, countryman, here's to you: Thank you, Master, says Ben; says another, Come, we are going to make some rhymes, and he that can't rhyme must pay the Reckoning: I don't know what you mean says Ben: but let's taste of your Ale and your Tobacco, and then I am for you: So begin,

Good Ale, Tobacco, and a pretty Wench,
Will bring a Man to the King's Bench.
And after he has spent all,
Then take him Sir, John Lent'all."

These lines may have originated before Jonson's death, for Lenthall was marshall of the King's Bench at least as early as 1639—40. (*Cal. State Papers.*) I do not know when he was appointed.

b) "As Ben Johnson (who was a Bricklayer before he turned Poet) was one morning going early to his work, with his tools in his hand, he was spied by a young Lady, who was up sooner than ordinary breathing the fresh air out of her chamber window. She was of a gay disposition, and thinking to be merry with our Bricklayer, called to him and said, — By line and rule, works many a fool, Good-morrow, Mr. Bricklayer. Ben no sooner turned his head and saw her, but he answered, In silk and scarlet walks many a harlot, Good-morrow, madam." See Clark's edition of Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, 1898, II, 16, for a slightly different version of this retort courteous, still current at Oxford.

d) "Ben Johnson when he went to Basing stoke, used to put up his horse at the sign of the Angel, which was kept by Mrs Hope, and her daughter Prudence; but Ben going one

day, and finding strange people in the house and the sign changed, he wrote the following lines:

When Hope and Prudence kept this house,
 An Angel kept the door:
 Now Hope is dead,
 The Angel fled,
 And Prudence turn'd a whore."

An unscribed variant upon a similar theme is in *Rawl. Poet.* 160, f. 158 verso.

e) "Ben Johnson and Sylvester being at a Tavern, began to rhyme upon each other: Sylvester he began:

I Sylvester,
 Lay with your sister.

Ben Johnson replies:

I Ben Johnson
 Lay with your wife.

That's no rhyme, says Sylvester; but says Ben Johnson, there's a deal of truth in it." The lines occur by themselves in a slightly different form in *Sl.* 1009, f. 395. The whole story may be found in *A Choice Banquet of Witty Jestes*, 1660, p. 107, and *England's Jestes Refined*, 1693, 3rd ed., p. 88.

f) "Attorney-General Noy making a venison feast at a tavern, Ben Johnson wrote these verses and sent him.

When all the world was drown'd.
 No venison could be found,
 For then there was no park:
 So here we simple sit,
 Like fools without one bit,
 Noy has it all in his ark.

For which piece of wit, he had a corner of a pasty and twelve bottles of wine." The story is in *England's Jestes Refined*, 1693, p. 89, 3rd ed.; the first was in 1687, but I have not seen it. The lines of course must go back to Noy's lifetime; he died in 1634. Slightly different versions are assigned to Jonson in *Rawl. Poet.* 26, f. 143, and 210, f. 68.

g) "Another time He designed to go through the Half-Moon in Aldersgatestreet, but the door being shut, was denied

entrance: So he went to the Sun Tavern at Long-lane end, and made these verses.

Since the Half-Moon is so unkind
To make me go about,
The Sun my money now shall have,
And the Moon shall go without."

This is given as Jonson's in Winstanley's *Lives of the Poets*, 1687, 123, and in *England's Jest*s, u. s., p. 89.

h) "Ben Johnson owing a Vintner some money, refrained his house; the Vintner meeting him by chance, asked him for his money; and also told him if he would come to his house, and answer him four questions, he would forgive him the debt. Ben Johnson very gladly agreed, and went at the time appointed, called for a Bottle of Claret, and drank to the Vintner, praising the wine at a great rate: Says the Vintner, This is not our business, Mr. Johnson; answer me my four questions, or else you must pay me my money, or go to jail, in short, (and he had got two Bailiffs waiting at the door to arrest him). Pray says Ben, propose your four questions: Then, says the Vintner, you must tell me, First, What pleases God? Secondly, What pleases the Devil? Thirdly, What best pleases the World? And lastly, What best pleases me: Well, says Ben,

God is best pleas'd when Man forsakes his sin;
The Devil's best pleas'd when Men persist therein:
The World's best pleas'd when you do draw good Wine;
And you'll be pleas'd when I do pay for mine.

The Vintner was well pleased and gave Mr Johnson a receipt in full for the debt, and his bottle of Claret into bargain." This variant of King John and the Abbot, taken from some different source, is gravely given as genuine in Kett's *Flowers of Wit*, 1814, I, 152, and in Dodd's *Epigrammatists*, 1870, 192. In *Add.* 23229, f. 50, is a variation of these lines in the form of an epitaph upon "I know not whom". As this MS. is made up of papers stamped 'Conway Papers', and as an authograph MS. of Jonson is among them, the lines in this form are evidently early. They are there unasccribed, but in *Rawl. Poet.* 26, f. 164, the epitaph is given as by Jonson, 'upon his freind, master Calvin'.

i) "Ben Johnson having an application made to him by a young Heir to write an epitaph on one that had left him a good estate; and the Poet asking him, what he had done that was praise-worthy? The Heir could give an account of nothing memorable that he had done, either on the score of charity, or any thing else; but that he had lived quietly and privately, and passed with great silence to the grave: but he still pressed to have an epitaph set on his benefactor's tomb. Ben, at this, asked him how old his friend was? To which he answered, two and forty years: Then said the Poet, I would have you write this upon him:

Here lies a Man, was born, and cry'd,
Told two and forty years, and dy'd."

This is possibly by Hoskins; at least the Farmer-Chetham MS. assigns it to him in a slightly different form, Grosart's edition, 1873, II, 185. It often occurs elsewhere, but I think not with Jonson's name. In 1607 another form of it was assigned to Old Hobson the Merry Londoner; see his *Conceits*, Percy Soc., 1843, 13.

73. Epitaph on himself. From *Add.* 15227, f. 45:

B: Johnson in seipsum

Here lies Johnson, who was ones sonne,
Hee had a little hayre on his chin, his name was Benjamin.

This MS. may have been the one from which Halliwell quotes, *Life of Shakespeare*, 1848, 186; but he gives it in four lines. It is probably connected with the Shakespeare anecdote above, no. 35. See the *Allusion-Book*, there cited.

74. *Witts Recreations*, 1640, no. 147.

B. J. approbation of a copy of verses.

One of the witty sort of gentlemen,
That held society with learned Ben —
Shew'd him some verses of such Tragique sense
They did his curious eare much violence;
But after Ben had been a kind partaker
Of the sad lines, he needs must know the maker;
What unjust man he was, that spent his time
And banish'd reason to advance his rime:

Nay gentle Ben, replies the gentleman
 I see I must support the Poet than;
 Although these humble straines are not so fit
 For to please you, hee's held a pretty wit;
 Is he held so? (saies Ben) so may a goose,
 Had I the holding, I would let him loose.

75. *Ibid.*, nos. 121, 122.

B. J. answer to a thiefe bidding him stand.
 Fly villaine hence or be thy coate of steele,
 Ile make thy heart, my brazen bullet feele,
 And send that thrice as thievish soul of thine,
 To hell, to weare the Devils Valentine.

The Theefe's replie.

Art thou great Ben? or the revived ghost
 Of famous Shake-spear? or som drunken host?
 Who being tipsie with thy muddy beer,
 Dost think thy rimes shall daunt my soul with fear
 Nay know base slave, that I am one of those,
 Can take a purse aswell in verse as prose,
 And when th'art dead, write this upon thy herse;
 Here lies a Poet that was robb'd in verse.

Compare the *Allusion-Book*, 1909, I, 441; II, 224. The process by which this and the other foregoing anecdotes became associated with Jonson needs no discussion. Winstanley, in his *Lives of the Poets*, remarks that his repartees were "for the most part very quick and smart", and gives two examples, of which both occur in *Ben Johnson's Jests*. I am of course not attempting here to collect all anecdotes concerning him, and so further instances of this associative process are not necessary. But it is clear enough that the process began early and no doubt during his own lifetime. It is questionable whether it would be worth while trying to trace these things to their ultimate source, if it were possible to do so.

76. Hunter, *Add.* 24491, f. 43, says that Halliwell informed him that "two short Ballads at the end of *MS. Bib. Reg.* 12. B. 1, are in his opinion in Ben Jonson's Handwriting". Whether Halliwell thought that Jonson wrote them is not made clear.

In any case, I can not see that the handwriting bears any striking resemblance to that of Jonson.

77. A Glee to Bacchus. In *Wit and Mirth*, 1684, 100, is assigned to Jonson a piece with this title, beginning "Bacchus, Iacchus, fill our brains". The probable author is Aurelian Tounshend, see E. K. Chambers' ed. of Tounshend, 1912, pp. 7, 104. In addition to the references there given, note that the piece occurs in *Harl.* 6057, f. 58, unasccribed. This MS. was written by Thomas Crosse, see f. 1, but the date is uncertain. It contains a number of genuine poems of Jonson and ascribes them to him, but also gives his name to one or two that are undoubtedly spurious; see the second article in this series. The first eight lines of the piece are also given as a 'Chorus' in *Eg.* 2725, f. 117.

77*. On Dec. 20, 1648, Thomas Walkley, Stationer, presented a petition to the House of Lords (see *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 7th Rep., 67), in which he states that six years previously he had bought a piece of poetry of Mr. Ben Johnson's for 40 pounds and printed it by authority at a cost of 300 pounds more. He now wishes to have it relicensed. (The original document adds nothing to the details given in the report.) What this petition means is not clear. It may have to do with something that has disappeared.

C. The following pieces are I believe here noticed for the first time in connection with Jonson.

78. Lines in Farnaby's *Persius*, which came out together with his *Juvenal* in 1612.

Cum Juvenale tuo, Farnabi, Persius, exit,

Atque affectatis eruitur tenebris.

Quem legat, & quondam neglectum intelligat ille

Qui Stridone satus, nomine sanctus erat.

B. J.

79. From Thomas Jordan's *Poeticall Varieties*, 1637. This volume is dedicated to John Ford of Gray's Inn (a cousin of the dramatist, see *D. N. B.*, s. v. Jordan) and contains commendatory verse by Thomas Heywood and Thomas Nabbes. There is also a poem by Ric. Brome, entitled 'To my Friend

Mr Tho. Jordan on his Poems, which I title, His Underwood'. The last poem in the series is the following:

On my Friend and adopted sonne Mr Thomas
Jordan the Infant-Poet of our Age.

From smallest Springs, arise the greatest streames,
Thou hast begun well; who dares hinder thee
Still to goe forward, and dilate thy beames,
T'acquaint the world with thy sweete Poetry.

Speake still in tune, hide not thy worth but shew it,
That men may say, th'art borne not made a Poet.
And he that fayles thy growing Muse to cherish,
May his fixt hopes in expectation perish.

Thine (sance Complement) J. B.

Here we have what at the least may be called a curious series of coincidences. Brome's title is evidently reminiscent of the as yet unpublished *Underwoods*. Who else than Jonson would write a poem to his friend and adopted son (cf. the title of *Und.* lxxxvi)? Moreover, with the second line, compare the first line of *Epig.* xcvi. But is there any known instance in which Jonson has reversed his initials? In the second edition of this volume, which came out in 1646 with the title *Love's Dialect*, the initials are still reversed, and the poem by Brome is omitted.

80. Jordan's *Royal Arbor*, etc., 1664. As Jordan was a friend of Brome and perhaps also of Jonson, the following from the address to the 'Poetical Reader' may be authentic. "I am not so extravagant as once a presented Poetaster (in a good Comedy) said, Who loves not Verse is damn'd; nor so rapt with a vain-glorious humour and self-admiration as old Ben was when he made this Distick, the Theam being Poets.

When God begins to do some exc'lent thing,
He makes a Poet or, at least, a King."

81. Elegy on Donne. From the following lines in Falkland's *Elegy on Donne* (Grierson's *Donne*, 1912, I, 380), it may be inferred that Jonson either wrote or was expected to write an elegy upon the Dean of St. Paul's.

So let his Liegiers with the Poets joyne,
 Both having shares, both must in griefe combine:
 Whil'st Johnson forceth with his Elegie
 Teares from a griefe-unknowing Scythians eye,
 (like Moses at whose stroke the waters gusht
 From forth the Rock, and like a Torrent rusht.)

82. A Petition of Prince Charles. A piece with this title is found in *Harl.* 6057, 21 verso, as follows; italics indicate expansions.

Read royall father, and mighty kinge
 what my little hand doth bringe
 I whose happy birth imparts
 Joy to all good subiects harts
 (though ane Infant) doe not breake
 natures lawes nowe if I speake
 by this enterprize for one
 whose face doth blush and hart doth groane
 for her acknowledged offence
 that only found my Inocence
 to gaine her mercy. Shee is bould
 oh may itt some proportion hold
 if to the father shee doth runn
 by mediation of the sunn
 if therefore (oh my Royall *Master*
 my first request may purchase her
 restoreinge to *your* grace, to mee
 (thoughe Prince) yett shall an honor bee
 when in my Cradle itt is said
 I master of Requests was made
 Ben Iohnson

This is also to be found, with no author assigned, in *MSS.* *Add.* 30982, f. 137 verso; 25707, f. 154 verso; *Sl.* 1792, f. 128 verso; and *Ashmole* 36, f. 173. In the last the title runs: 'A Peticon to y^e Kinge put into y^e Younge Princes hand, by one of y^e Nurses, whoe had left her place.' One or two of these versions present better readings. The date, if the title is at all accurate, would be very shortly after the birth of Charles II. There is no reason why we should not accept the assignment to Jonson.

83. *On a Fair Gentlewoman's Voice.* In *Ashmole*, 47, f. 92 verso, occurs:

B: John:

on a ffayre gent: voyce.

Bee silent you still musicke of y^e spheres
 And every sence make hast to bee all ears
 And give devout attention to her Ayers
 To w^{ch} y^e Gods doe listen as to prayers,
 Of pious vataryes y^e w^{ch} to heare
 Tumults would bee attentive and would swea[r]
 To Keepe lesse noyse at Nile, if there shee singe
 or wth her happy voyce grace but one stringe
 Among such Auditors soe many throngs
 of gods and men do presse to heare thy songs
 Oh let mee have an vespied [unespyed] roome
 To dye wth such an Antheame on my tombe.

Unassigned versions are to be found in *MSS. Add.* 15227, f. 82; 19268, f. 12; 21433, f. 112; 25303, f. 117 verso; *Eg.* 2725, f. 97 verso; *Sl.* 1792, f. 86 verso; and *Lansd.* 777, f. 72 verso. This last is the William Browne MS. and the piece is there marked 'Anonymus'. It also occurs in *Wit's Interpreter*, 1655, sec. Apollo, etc., 278, and in *Parnassus Biceps*, 1656, 82. Dobell has printed it among Strode's poems (1907, p. 39) and says it is ascribed to Strode "in at least two manuscripts, and I am not aware that it has ever been claimed for anyone else". Strode is a far more probable author than Jonson, in whose style it certainly is not.

84. *Between two brethren, etc.* In *Add.* 15225, f. 7, occurs the following:

Epigr: in duos fratres disputantes, alterum
 Papistam, Protestantē alterum, et sese
 invicem convertentes.

Bella inter geminos plusquam civilia fratres
 Traxerat ambiguus religionis apex.
 Ille reformatæ fidei & partibus instat
 Ille reformandam denegat esse fidem.
 Propositis causæ rationibus, alter utrinque
 Concurrere pares, et cecidere pares.

Quod fuit in votis, frater capit alter utrinque
 Quod fuit in fatis, perdit uterque fidem,
 Captivi gemini nullo ducente trahuntur
 Et victus victi transfuga castra petit,
 Quod genus hoc pugnae est? ubi victus gaudet uterque
 Et tamen alteruter se superasse dolet.

Engl: by Ben: Johnson.

Betweene two bretheren civill warres & worse
 The nice point of religion long did nurse
 For reformation of the faith hee plies,
 That Faith should bee reformed hee denyes,
 The reasons for the cause a part propounded
 Both mette a like, alike fell both confounded,
 As heart could wish, each brother other takes,
 As fates would have it, each his faith forsakes,
 Without captiver, both are captive led
 And to the Victors campe the vanquished fled,
 What fight is this? where Conquerers [conquered]
 both are glad

Yet either to have conquered other sad.

In *Add.* 25303, f. 92, and *Harl.* 3910, f. 52, the Latin is assigned to 'Allablaster' and the English to Hugh Holland. In *Ashmole* 38, f. 74, where the Latin does not occur, the English is assigned to 'Guilielmum Alablaster' and is said to be 'In duos Reginaldas fratres'. The anecdote explanatory of the epigram is given by Fuller, *Church History*, ed. 1845, V, 378: "This John Reynolds at the first was a zealous papist, whilst William his brother was as earnest a protestant; and afterwards Providence so ordered it, that by their mutual disputation John Reynolds turned an eminent protestant, and William an inveterate papist, in which persuasion he died.

"This gave the occasion to an excellent copy of verses, concluding with this distich:

Quod genus hoc pugnae est? ubi victus gaudet uterque,
 Et simul alteruter se superasse dolet.
 What war is this? when conquer'd both are glad,
 And either to have conquer'd other sad."

D. N. B., s. v. John Rainolds considers this story apocryphal. It is a fact that William Rainolds was converted to the Roman

faith, though apparently by other means. There is no evidence the John was ever a Catholic. A quite different translation of the epigram is given by Beloe, *Anecdotes of Literature*, 1807, I, 194; see a third by E. Cooke, *Add.* 27408, f. 55 verso, and still a fourth, by Sir James Turner, *Add.* 12067, f. 286 verso.

For Alabaster and Holland, see *D. N. B.*, and for the former, Dobell, *Athenaeum*, 1903, Dec. 26, 857. Holland was a close friend of Jonson. Jonson prefixed verses to Holland's *Pancharis*, 1603, and Holland gave lines to *Sejanus*. There is much other evidence also. The poems of Holland and Alabaster have never been collected. It is rather curious that Alabaster should have published a pamphlet giving 'Seven Motives' for his conversion to Catholicism (no copy has come down, apparently) in view of the fact that Wood assigns to Jonson a piece called '*His Motives*, 1622' (see above, no. 37). Can Alabaster's pamphlet, which however was published before 1598, have been associated with Jonson in some such way as that in which this epigram was? (Gifford suspected that if Jonson really wrote such a work, it had to do with his re-conversion to Protestantism.) It is a further coincidence that Alabaster, like Jonson, was re-converted, and, like him, had been educated at Westminster School, where they may have been school-fellows, though Alabaster was about five years the elder.

85. *A Speech out of Lucan.* In *Harl.* 4064, f. 243, occurs the following:

A Speech out of Lucane

Iust and fit actions Ptolomey (he saith)
 make many hurt themselves; a prayسد faith
 Is her owne scourge, when it sustaines their stats
 whom fortune hath deprest; come nere the fates
 and the immortall gods: love only those
 whom thou seest happy; wretches shee [flee] as foes
 Looke how the starres from earth, or seas frō flames
 are distant, so is proffitt from iust aymes.
 The mayne comaund of scepters, soone doth perishe
 if it begyn religious thoughts to cherish;
 whole armyes fall swayd by those nyce respects
 It is a lycense to doe ill, protectes

Even states most hated, when no lawes resist
 the sword but that it acteth what it list.
 Yet ware; thou mayst doe all things cruellie:
 not safe; but when thou dost them thoroughlie:
 He that will honest be may quitt the Court,
 Virtue, and soveraigntie, they not consort
 That prince that shames a tyrants name to beare
 shall never dare do any thing but feare.

This is an almost literal translation of *Phars.* viii, 484—495; readers will at once see that ll. 9—16, 19—20, are to be found practically verbatim in *Sejanus*, II, ii, 40—49. The question is whether we have here to do with some one plagiarizing Jonson or with a genuine translation by Jonson which he made use of in his tragedy. The latter alternative is much the more probable. In the first place, ll. 1—8, 17—18, which do not appear in the play, would seem to be by the same author as the rest of the translation. They are just as close to the original and are in the same style. Secondly, if anyone were so much interested in this speech in Lucan as to desire to translate this portion of it (for the whole speech is not translated), why should he take a part of his version from Jonson? If he were doing a long translation which he intended to divulge thereby to gain some credit in the world, his motive would be easily understood, though his prudence might be questioned. But in the case of a mere fragment of twenty lines, such action would seem rather purposeless. I am consequently inclined to regard this piece as a preliminary study for a portion of *Sejanus*. On that assumption, the differences between it and the passage in the play can be readily explained. Having designed this originally as a speech for Sejanus in his consultation with Tiberius concerning the best way of dealing with Agrippina and her party, it occurred to Jonson that some of the ideas (see ll. 1—8), while excellently suited to the situation in the poem, are not so well suited to the situation in the play. Here there is no unfortunate fugitive seeking asylum. 'Empires' is from the dramatic point of view a desirable substitute for 'armies'. The change in the order of ideas (i. e. placing ll. 19—20 before l. 9) improves the connection with the preceding portion of the dialogue. 'Dark deeds' is more effective than the colorless 'to do ill'.

'All the command' is smoother and even closer to the original than 'the main command'. When Tiberius interrupts Sejanus with the objection in l. 48, the phrase 'Yet so' is a great improvement for dialogue connection over 'Yet ware'. Ll. 17—18 were probably omitted on the sufficient ground of redundancy. Another copy in *Rawl. Poet.* 31, f. 18.

86. A third *Ode to Himself*. Of f. 237 of the same MS. occurs an 'Ode' which on internal evidence I confidently believe to be Jonson's. I have printed this poem with my reasons for the ascription in a recent number of *The Athenaeum* (June 13, 1914). Another copy in *Rawl. Poet.* 31, f. 8 verso.

87. An adaptation of Horace, *Car.*, II, iii, 17 ff. In *Certain Selected Odes of Horace, Englished; and their arguments annexed*, etc., 1621. These translations, with other poems also included, were by John Ashmore (on whom see *D. N. B.*), but the 'I' of the following extract I take to be the publisher, Richard Moore. After the translation of *Epod.* ii (which Jonson also translated) we read:

"This Ode following, came into my hands under the name of M^r. Ben. Iohnson: which (for the happy imitation of Horace) I have also published.

Ad Authorem.

The Argument.

Till his Sire true doe claime his due,

This Infant I doe cherish:

Though without name, it were a shame

It should in darknes perish.

Remember, when blinde Fortune knits her brow,

Thy minde be not deieted over-lowe:

Nor let thy thoughts too insolently swell,

Though all thy hopes doe prosper ne'r so well.

For, drink thy teares, with sorrow still opprest,

Or taste pure wine, secure and ever blest,

In those remote, and pleasant shady fields

Where stately Pine and Poplar shadow yeelds,

Or circling streames that warble, passing by:

All will not help, sweet friend: For, thou must die.

The house, thou hast, thou once must leave behind thee,
And those sweet babes thou often kissest kindly:

And when th' hast gotten all the wealth thou can,
Thy paines is taken for another man.

Alas! what poor advantage doth it bring,
To boast thy selfe descended of a King!
When those, that have no house to hide their heads,
Finde in their grave as warm and easie beds.

This sounds about as much like Jonson as it does like Walt Whitman.

88. In *Harl.* 4064, f. 238, occurs the following:

Scorne or some humble fate,
light thick, and long endure
on the ridiculous state
of our pied courlings [*sic*], and secure
race of selfe loving Lords,
that wallow in the flood
of their great birth and bloud
while their whole lief affords
no other graces
but pride, lust, oathes, and faces,
and yet would have me deeme
of them at that high rate
as they themselves esteeme
perish such surquedry
orewhelm'd wth dust
tis only virtue must
blazon nobilitie

I do not assert this to be Jonson's, though I think his authorship quite probable. It is sufficiently like him in style and sentiment to be worth further investigation. Such evidence as I have so far accumulated is not conclusive. Another copy, correcting 'humble' to 'humblar' and 'courlinges' to 'courtlings', is in *Rawl. Poet.* 31, f. 9 verso.

89. In *Rawl. Poet.* 26, f. 162 verso, occur 'Scotch verses highly commended by King James'. These are 'answered by Ben: Johnson'. The answer is most scurrilous and in the worst vein of *Epig.* cxxxiii. There is no reason for supposing the lines to be Jonson's, and so I do not take the responsibility of defiling these pages with them.

90. In the same MS. just below is the following:

Ben Johnson upon his Brother William
Instead of Disticks & Tetrasticks
and long breath' Encomiasticks

Epigrams and Annagrams
 Cronograms and all such hard names
 because I will be short and som what hasten
 On thy toombe stone this Ile fasten
 N other [sic] truer nothing righter
 William Johnson: hic mentitur.

It would be the height of folly to suppose this piece authentic, but it raises the interesting question whether the title represents simply a confusion of names or whether there was any tradition that Jonson had a brother William.

91. *Rawl. Poet.* 210, f. 58 verso, contains the following:

On y^e Birth of y^e Lady Mary.

The 3^d of 9^{ber} Vandeljn crost y^e water
 y^e 4th _____ y^e Queen had a daughter
 — 5th _____ we scap't a great slaughter
 & y^e 6th _____ was y^e next day after.
 Ben: Johnson

This is in the B part of the MS., which is conjecturally dated in Madan's *Summary Cat. of West. MSS.*, III, p. 329, as 1610—20. I have seen these lines before, but I do not recall where.

92. In *Add. B.* 97 (Bodl. MSS.), f. 39, a corrupt version of the well-known poem by Harington, 'In elder times an ancient custom was', is assigned to Jonson.

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Appendix of pieces overlooked.

In the above article, I have spoken of the fact that Jonson seems to have written the address and the dedication prefixed to the first folio of Shakespeare, and referred to an article of mine that I had sent to *The Times*, but which was not yet published. That article came out in the *Literary Supplement* of November 13, and in the next issue Simpson wrote to point out what I had overlooked, namely, that the list of parallels that I had compiled had in the main been already compiled by Steevens. I therefore hasten to state that Steevens, in *Boswell-Malone*, II, 663 ff., had discussed this matter, and that correspondence on the subject will be found in the *Times Literary Supplement* of November 13 and 20, 1914. I am about sending off an additional note in reply to some of the arguments as to Jonson's authorship brought forward by Simpson.

Moreover, I have one or two additions to make to the same article.

93. W. H. Peet, *N. & Q.*, 9. Ser., xii, 356, gives an anecdote containing a couplet epitaph asserted to be by Jonson. The epitaph, in various forms, is one of very common occurrence.

94. H. C. Hart (Introduction to vol. II of *Works of Jonson*, Methuen, xxii—xxiii, thinks that in Dekker's *Satiromastix* is to be found evidence that Jonson had "championed the cause of hair against baldness, in some lost production. The play is full of allusions to 'that hayre-monger Horace'". I see no reason to suppose that Jonson had written anything on this subject. "The orations of Horace and Crispinus in favour of hair and baldness respectively (Sc. vii, and Sc. ix) doubtless formed a part of the Vaughan plot of the original tragedy, having been there delivered by other characters" (Small, *Stage-quarrel*, 124; so Scherer, *Satiromastix, Materialien*, etc., 1907, xiv). The various allusions seem all explicable on that assumption. Hart also thinks: 1. that there is a reference to a lost epithalamium by Jonson (or Jonson and Drayton); cf. ll. 376, 1063, 1888 of Scherer's edition; 2. that there may be some lost pieces referred to in Tucca's words in ll. 582—3, 1698—1702, and Sir Vaughan's words, ll. 2618—21. If we are to take these passages so literally (and it may be that we should), we must add to them such references as that to 'Acrostics', ll. 356, 1888—9, and to the odes, ll. 358 ff., 1889, though these last may conceivably refer to pieces that are extant but not identifiable. So in l. 663 is a reference to Horace's being *dasht* (with mud) when he went with a speech to the Tilt-yard (we have extant a Tilt-yard speech, *Underwoods* xxix, which is, however, apparently later, see Cunningham's nine-vol. sel. of Jonson, viii, 473).

95. The familiar epitaph on the Honest Lawyer is ascribed to Jonson in an anecdote reprinted by W. H. Peet, *N. & Q.*, 9 ser., xii, 356.

96. Herford (D. N. B., s. v. Jonson, near the beginning of the article) mentions a ditty penned by Jonson for the entertainment of King James on the occasion of his visit to Cambridge in March, 1614—5.

97. In the first article in this series I said of the piece called *Another on the Birth of the Prince* that I hesitated to think Jonson capable of the outrageous conceit about the copulation of the sun and the moon. I still hesitate, but not so greatly. It certainly was not in his manner to devise conceits of this nature, but he as certainly did more than once adopt conceits that had good classical authority, and when I wrote I was not aware that this one had such a basis. Plutarch, in his essay *Of Love* (Translation 1870, iv, 307) says: "And the natural philosophers are of opinion that the sun is in love with the moon, that they copulate every month, and that the moon conceives by virtue of that conjunction." See also Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xvi, 39 (74, 190). Nor should it be overlooked that the piece ends with a thought that is one of the most common in Jonson

Our little Charles may be

As great on earth, because as good as he.

The general style of the poem, I am still convinced, is not Jonson's; yet the points mentioned must be considered, together with the direct attribution of it to him in the 1640 4to, as placing it among the doubtful pieces.

W. D. Br.

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